MARCH 16
1943

NEW MASSES

15¢
In Canada
20¢

WHAT PRICE FOOD?
by BRUCE MINTON

HOW TO BEAT THE U-BOAT
by JOSEPH REED

HAVE THE COLLEGES DONE THEIR JOB?
THE STUDENT AND THE WAR
by BERNARD F. RIESS

INSIDE HITLER'S EUROPE
What Have We Done to Encourage the Millions to Action? A Report from London *by O. R. QUINN*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from Bella V. Dodd

Dear Reader:

The spring of 1943 presents staggering problems to those who would clinch the victory of the United Nations in the shortest possible time with a minimum loss of life. With treason and confusion in the air it is imperative that those of us who have only one concern—how best to help our country and its President make and carry out decisions for maximum blows against the Axis—have at our disposal a magazine such as NEW MASSES.

While it is frankly a magazine of left wing opinion, many of us in the professional fields have learned through constant check-up to value its integrity in the mobilization and presentation of new facts. Basic social and political problems are raised in this magazine long before other publications are aware that a problem exists. This is extremely important to those who are active in organizational fields and have to face the problem of molding public opinion in the interest of the people.

The magazine is of high literary and artistic merit. I know of no other magazine in America today that presents to the reader, week after week, a flow of cartoons, poems, and articles that are original and significant. Such names as McKenney, Minton, Gropper, Boyer, Kreymborg make every issue of NEW MASSES an exciting positive contribution to the cultural life of our community.

NEW MASSES is a weapon we are going to need desperately during this spring and summer of 1943 as our armed forces speed into action on the European continent. Positive voices must give meaning to the word "sacrifice" when casualty lists begin to appear. Ringing positive words are needed so that we can fight to clear our political atmosphere of the taint of appeasement and treason—clear it of the fascist virus that even at this late date tends to paralyze effective action.

To insure the continued efficacy of this weapon for democracy, the magazine must be adequately financed. Financial contributions to NEW MASSES are premiums to insure the winning of the war.

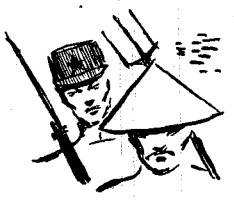
Bella V. Dodd

EDITORS' NOTE: Last year at this stage of the Fund Drive, New Masses had received $8,084.73—as compared with only $6,334.89 this year.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NM SPOTLIGHT

Inside China



CABLES from Chungking indicate the resurgence of Japanese military activity in China. Three drives have been reported: in Kiangsu, the coastal province where Shanghai is situated; in the province of Kiangsi, well inside the coast to the south; and in the extreme southwest, where China's province of Yunnan borders on Burma. The fact that the Japanese, after nearly six years, are still fighting on the central coast in itself testifies to China's heroic resistance. The fighting in Kiangsi has been very considerably to the east—that is, further from the heart of China than the point to which Japanese troops have several times, though temporarily, penetrated. The third area of recent fighting, along the Salween River skirting the Burma boundary, indicates two things: Japan's intense desire to guard against a United Nations drive across Burma; and China's ability to reconstitute her defenses after the tragic British failure in Burma a year ago. The Chinese in furious counter-attacks have recovered strategic points along the Salween and the Japanese have retreated from the west bank.

But these campaigns—at least on the basis of what slender information we have about them—provide no reliable indication of Japan's intentions. Can it be that Japan does not have the strength to undertake a major move at any point in her wide-flung periphery? Or is she putting ninety percent of her effort in consolidating her newly acquired empire while we peck away at the edges in the southwestern Pacific and from the Bay of Bengal? Even these questions do not pose the alternatives. For it should be remembered that for four and a half years the Japanese were stalemated in China when they had no other foe to face.

Whatever may be the explanation of the present situation, a large share of the answer lies in the determined resistance of the Chinese people and in their aggressive guerrilla tactics against the Japanese rear—tactics which are never for a moment relaxed.

THE resurgence of military activity in China, together with Madame Chiang Kai-shek's presence here, vividly reminds us of the neglect of our great ally. Madame Chiang has eloquently pleaded with us for more aid; and the warm response accorded both her personality and her words shows that on this point the mass of Americans heartily agree. It is unfortunate that she has at the same time cast doubts on the grand strategy of concentrating first on the second front against Hitler—doubts which are being exploited by the defeatist opponents of the administration. However, Madame Chiang's plea for more aid deserves our full support. A genuine strategy of global war, jointly undertaken with our allies as equal partners, will not be won until we solve the present impasse with regard to helping China. The solution demands the forcing of a gateway through to China by recapturing Burma. And that in turn demands an immediate solution of the India problem.

"Now let's see if we can put Maloney in jail."

India's Crisis Continues

AFTER reading all the jubilant notes in the editorial columns of some American newspapers, one would think that the end of Gandhi's fast was a major military victory for the British government. But the very tragic and ruinous fact is that Lord Linlithgow's obstinacy has only heaped more ill-will on the mountains of hatred for colonial police rule. The refusal to release Indian leaders from prison, the failure to overcome serious food shortages, the insane stubbornness which will not permit total mobilization of India's millions for a powerful defense of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the motherland—all these have made the tasks of the Japanese fifth column simpler.

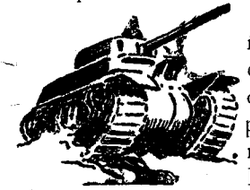
All honest and progressive observers of the acute crisis are convinced that the path to unity is blocked solely by the British rulers. The desire for a solid front even reached the inner recesses of the India government when three members of the Viceroy's executive council resigned in protest against Gandhi's continued incarceration. The Congress, as well as other forces in Indian national life, has repeatedly demanded negotiations which would break the suicidal deadlock. Practically nothing has been done. "There has been resistance even to such a simple matter," writes Lal Singh, editor of *India News*, "as allowing President Roosevelt's representative, Mr. Phillips, to visit imprisoned Nationalist leaders." And, so long as the British refuse to release Congress heads, or to allow leaders of other parties to consult with them, so long will the crisis continue.

The whole nasty affair is hardly a private matter between the British and Indians. Thousands of American lives are involved, to say nothing of the whole of Allied strategy in the Far East in which India is a springboard. Without Washington's determined intervention the situation will continue to drift, jeopardizing our commitments as outlined in the Atlantic Charter. Only the establishment of a genuine Indian National Government will free the great war potential which exists in the vast resources of this sub-continent.

North African Hiatus

Not only has American political policy failed to catch up with the growing military needs of the North African campaign and an Allied invasion of Europe, but the hesitant steps taken thus far serve only to make the gap more conspicuous. The absence of a clear-cut program for rallying the inhabitants of North Africa behind the war, the failure to establish a line of diplomacy geared to the needs of French unity —these things leave the initiative of day-to-day, week-to-week decisions in the hands of Darlanites, defeatists, or, at best, people who adhere to cautious delay.

True, the situation has improved in the past several weeks. A number of outstanding Vichyites have been replaced by Frenchmen with a healthier outlook. The abrogation of the anti-Semitic laws as well as all Vichy decrees relating to North Africa also marks a decided step forward. Giraud and de Gaulle are less far apart. Nine hundred anti-fascist prisoners were released from concentration camps, including twenty-seven French Communist Deputies. Moreover, Giraud and de Gaulle have publicly stated their desire to utilize all Frenchmen who stand for the destruction of Hitlerism. And in this country Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, in a letter to Earl Browder, has declared that "This government is using every effort to bring about as prompt a release of prisoners and refugees as the military situation will permit."



But is the improvement enough? No—certainly not in view of the accelerated pace at which the war must now be fought. Four months have gone by since American and British forces landed in North Africa. Nearly 20,000 French patriots and 7,500 Spanish republicans remain imprisoned in territory occupied *de facto* by the Americans and British, governed *de jure* by French administrators pledged to the destruction of fascism. Vichy dregs, like Nogues and Peyrouton, remain in key posts. The rights of the indigenous inhabitants are unrecognized; a vast potential source of power to the United Nations remains untapped.

North Africa constitutes the first genuine test of American overseas policy during the war. Those charged with the conduct of our foreign policy have put on a sorry exhibition in comparison with the courageous and at times brilliant performance of our Army and Navy. The State Department remains a heavy drag on the military. The American people, whose sons and brothers are paying for this stupidity, must insist that the necessary changes in policy are made promptly and in such a way as to guarantee that the bungling in North Africa will never be repeated elsewhere.

Galya's Wish

IF THE Red Army has secret weapons they are the millions of children who have taken to the fields to harvest the crops, who have gathered the fuel for the cold-ridden cities, performed a thousand and one tasks which relieve older folk for more active military duty. These youngsters are among the brightest stars in the Soviet firmament. Recently "Pionerskaya Pravda," the children's paper, asked its readers four questions, the last one of which was "What would you like to invent for the Red Army?" The children flooded the paper with replies: some wanted to invent a coat of mail which would be light but bullet proof; others drew sketches for a noiseless airplane. Each answer showed how much the war had stirred the imagination of boys and girls. But the most touching answer of all, it seems to us, came from sixth-grader Galya Kitzis, a collective farm girl from the Moscow region. This is what she wrote:

"When I was smaller I dreamed of inventing some mixture that would bring Lenin back to life. I went around gathering flowers of all kinds, thinking that for Lenin I would need a flower of unusual beauty, and from its juices I would make the mixture. But now I think I would like to invent such a mixture that would bring back to life all of our people who have fallen in this war."

With all our love, Galya, keep trying.

The Erlich-Alter Plot

Dr. Joseph Paul Goebbels, the well known Berlin magician, has a hatful of rabbits. One is called Finland, another is called Poland, a third the Baltics. And while everybody's attention is centered on his rabbit act, deft-fingered confederates go through the audience's pockets. But the most astonishing part of the performance is that if Dr. Goebbels runs short of rabbits, he can always count on dupes—or is it knaves?—in the audience to supply him with new ones. The latest of these rabbits (some people think they strongly resemble another type of rodent) is called Erlich-Alter. It is only a runt of a rabbit and hardly rates in bamboozling powers with Finland, for example. But Dr. Goebbels these days can't be too particular, and in a pinch anything will do.

And so—if you'll pardon our shifting metaphorical gears—a new effort is being made to beat the Soviet Union with any stick that comes to hand. This time it is the execution by the Soviet government of Henry Erlich and Victor Alter, Polish Socialist leaders, who like certain other "Socialists" and Trotskyites did the work of the Nazis. In a letter to President William Green of the AFL, Ambassador Maxim Litvinov states that Erlich and Alter, after fleeing to Moscow when Germany invaded Poland, engaged in subversive activities and were sentenced to death in August 1941. They were, however, released a month later at the Polish government's request. Nevertheless, "at a time of the most desperate battle of the Soviet troops with the Hitlerite armies, they resumed their hostile attitude, including appeals to Soviet troops to stop fighting and

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

Published weekly by WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., at 104 E. Ninth St., New York City. Copyright 1943. WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC. Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Washington Office, 945 Pennsylvania Ave., NW. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 27, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $5.00 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico. Six months $2.75; three months $1.50; Foreign $6.00 a year; six months $3.25; three months $1.75. In Canada $6.00 a year, $3.50 for six months, U. S. money, single copies in Canada 20c Canadian money. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelopes. NEW MASSES does not pay for contributions.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conclude peace with Germany." For this they were again tried in December 1942, convicted, and executed.

These charges might have seemed incredible a few years ago. But after the revelations at the Moscow trials there is no excuse for anyone to be ignorant of the facts of life. Erlich and Alter were Jews—but so was Trotsky. Every people has its quislings and the Jews are no exception. Above all, they were bitterly anti-Soviet, right wing Social Democrats. All one has to do to get an idea of what they were capable of is to take a look at some of their comrades in this country. There is, for example, Raphael Abramowitch, Menshevik leader, who wrote an obituary on Erlich and Alter in the *Jewish Daily Forward*. This is the same Abramowitch who for years worked for the overthrow of the Soviet regime and was exposed in the Moscow trials as having established close connections with the Trotskyite-Bukharinite plotters. There is N. Chanin, administrative chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee, who wrote in an article in the January 1942 issue of the Workmen's Circle magazine: "And the last shot will be fired from free America—and from that shot the Stalin regime too will be shot to pieces." And there are the gentlemen of the *Forward*, the Yiddish-language equivalent of the Hearst press, whose Soviet-baiting makes Martin Dies look like a tyro. The *Forward* today is engaged in efforts to disrupt American-Jewish unity, charging leaders of the Zionist movement and of religious Jewry with serving the interests of Stalinism.

It is unfortunate that a number of patriotic Americans, who were not acquainted with the facts, were imposed upon by these professional anti-Sovieteers and persuaded to intercede for Erlich and Alter. By now it ought to be clear that all these fake issues, whether labeled Finland, the Baltics, or Erlich-Alter, help the enemy and hurt America more than they do Russia.

Two Million Murders

THERE was a note of impatience and bitterness in some of the speeches made at the great Madison Square Garden protest meeting against the Nazi anti-Jewish atrocities. Well may there be impatience and bitterness, for too often have perfunctory gestures of sympathy from high places substituted for specific action in regard to the fiendish campaign of extermination which has already resulted in the slaughter of 2,000,000 Jewish men, women, and children. And when American Jews see Charles E. Coughlin and his pals still on the loose, who is there to say that their indignation **and** impatience are not justified?

It was an extraordinarily impressive demonstration at the Garden. (As we go to press, another is being held there, a memorial pageant for the murdered Jews; it is under the auspices of Ben Hecht and Billy Rose.) What was perhaps most impressive was the broad sponsorship of the meeting—the American Jewish Congress, the AFL and CIO, the Church Peace Union, the Free World Association, and about thirty other organizations—and the spirit of unity of all sections of Jewish life which that sponsorship expressed.

But protests alone will not halt the Nazi murderers, and no one knows it better than the organizers of the meeting. The eleven-point program adopted is designed to get action to rescue as many of the surviving 3,000,000 Jews as possible. There can be nothing but wholehearted agreement with the proposal that the United Nations establish sanctuaries for those refugee Jews who manage to escape.

IT IS also understandable that many Americans should support proposals that neutral agencies contact the Nazi government and its satellite states and get agreement for the release of as many Jews as possible, and that an effort be made through these agencies to feed the Jews in Axis and Axis-controlled countries. Yet it is proposals of this type, which on the surface appear to be the most concrete and practical of all, that seem to us thoroughly illusory. It needs to be understood that there can be no real salvation for the Jews or for any of the other victims of Nazi barbarism short of the military annihilation of the Hitler regime. Negotiations with this regime for humanitarian purposes are not only likely to weaken or postpone the offensive action that alone can end its persecutions, but are completely futile as far as any immediate rescue of individual Jews is concerned. Is it, for example, reasonable to suppose that the Nazis, who have set out to rob and kill millions of Jews, will keep hands off food shipments intended for their victims?

The clue to the deliverance of the Jewish people is contained in two words and the applause which greeted them when spoken by Rabbi Stephen Wise, chairman of the meeting. The words were "second front."

The Fable of the Gap

ONCE upon a time there was an ogre, a big, dark, terrible ogre by the name of Inflationary Gap. He used to roam around, east, west, north, and south, hiding in dark places and frightening all the little American children. These little American children were doing nothing working day and night in factories and on farms to help win the war. And every time Grandma Sulzberger of Times Square saw them doing nothing working day and night, she moaned: "What's the world coming to? Think of it: they actually get wages and eat real food. Now, children, listen to me. If you want to be good, you must feel bad. If you want to be well, you must be ill. No more wage increases, no more overtime pay. And if that doesn't make you feel worse, just sales-tax what's left. There's $45,000,000,000 in excess purchasing power. Terrible! Inflationary Gap will get you if you don't watch out."

Well, Grandma Sulzberger of Times Square kept saying this over and over when along came a funny old man. This funny old man was talking to himself without paying attention to anybody else. And his name was Mr. Securities and Exchange Commission. And he said: "In the last three months of 1942 the little American children who do nothing working day and night saved more money than ever before instead of trying to spend it all. For the entire year they saved $28,900,000,000, which was double what they saved in 1941 and four times what they saved in 1940. Those are nice figures, aren't they? Here are some more nice ones. In 1940 the little American children who do nothing working day and night saved ten percent of their income, but in 1942 they saved twenty-five percent."

Just then, out popped from a corner Inflationary Gap. His face was a deathly gray and he looked like a very sick ogre indeed. In fact, like the little man on the stair, he just wasn't there.

Yes, dear readers, the "inflationary gap" seems to be another Humpty Dumpty that has had a great fall. The figures on savings recently released by the SEC—which some newspapers didn't consider fit to print—put the "inflationary gap" myth into a state beyond repair. An "inflationary gap" is supposed to be created when the amount of money in people's hands is greater than the value of the goods and services available. According to the exponents of this theory, unless the "excess" purchasing power is siphoned off through taxes, forced savings, wage cuts, or in some other fashion, it is bound to exert terrific pressure on prices and send them spurting upward. The SEC figures show that no such pressure is being exerted because the greater part of the "excess" is going into all kinds of savings: bank deposits, government bonds, insurance, payment of personal debts, etc. Whereas national income rose about fifty percent between 1940 and 1942, savings increased almost 300 percent. It is clear

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the present "creeping inflation," manifested in gradual increases in the cost of living, could be halted by comprehensive rationing and vigorous price-control.

To its credit the New York *Herald Tribune,* which had swallowed the "inflationary gap" myth, was honest enough to publish an editorial calling attention to the implications of the SEC findings. From the very inception of the discussion on inflation that developed in connection with President Roosevelt's seven-point program, NEW MASSES almost alone among American publications questioned the "inflationary gap" theory and opposed all efforts to use it as justification for undermining living standards. We urged, instead, over-all rationing and price-control, the encouragement of savings, and the other points of the President's program.

UNFORTUNATELY, the administration too has often blindly accepted the "inflationary gap" fallacy. In fact, the SEC is so completely under its spell that the very savings which explode this false theory are cited by it as an inflationary threat. The gap theory is also responsible for throwing out of gear the approach to the problem of wage stabilization. Instead of encouraging the use of wage increases as an incentive to greater production, the administration through the War Labor Board has put the main emphasis on keeping wages from rising above a fixed limit under the "Little Steel" formula. The harmful effects of this approach, especially in the face of mounting living costs, are now evident in the West Coast aircraft decision which has precipitated a crisis within the WLB itself.

Wage rates in the aircraft industry are far below those in shipbuilding for the same work. This has resulted in excessive labor turnover and in such protest actions as that of the Boeing Aircraft workers who recently interrupted production for several hours. Despite the expressed willingness of many aircraft companies to grant substantial wage increases, the War Labor Board, operating on the false premise that such increases are inflationary, has awarded little more than a token raise in pay to about 250,000 workers in this key war industry. The four labor members of the board and one public member, Dean Wayne L. Morse, outraged at this policy and at the pressure exerted on several WLB members by Economic Stabilization Director James F. Byrnes, have charged that the majority decision is tantamount to wage freezing. It is time to substitute economic fact for myth and to adopt a wage policy that will spur production and strengthen national morale.

For Want of a Plan

THE war production program sometimes reminds us of the Mother Goose jingle: for want of a nail the shoe was lost, for want of a shoe the horse was lost, for want of a horse the rider was lost, and so on. Manpower is a case in point. The cross-purposes operating in the manpower situation have reached such a state that a special committee consisting of Bernard Baruch, James F. Byrnes, Admiral William D. Leahy, Harry

"It's not a retreat—we're just shortening our lines."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

L. Hopkins, and Judge Samuel I. Rosenman has been appointed by President Roosevelt to conduct a secret investigation and make recommendations.

The Army and Navy months ago worked out a program calling for some 11,000,000 men in the armed forces by the end of 1943. No layman is in a position to say whether or not this is the number needed to assure victory. There is no doubt that certain defeatists are demanding a smaller army in order to limit our country's participation in the war and facilitate an eventual negotiated peace with the fascists. There is also no doubt that certain ultra-imperialists want a large army in order to enable the United States to be top-dog in the postwar world. One thing, however, is clear: if we are to build and supply an adequate Army and Navy and play our full part in the war as a member of the United Nations, the size of the armed forces cannot be based merely on the calculations of the military specialists. It must be part of an over-all program that balances the needs of the services with the needs of industry and agriculture and the potentialities of our economic plant as a whole. This obviously implies planned, centralized direction of our entire war economy.

BECAUSE such planned direction has been lacking, we have a medley of conflicting claims and contradictory measures that impede the mobilization of our manpower, try the patience of the people, and tend to create a creeping paralysis all down the line. This situation is duck soup for the congressional defeatists and obstructionists, who do what they can to confound a situation already sufficiently confused. Since political life, like nature, abhors a vacuum, in the absence of plan and clear direction, the Kilday bill to bar the induction of men with dependents gets the overwhelming support of the House Military Affairs Committee, and the Bankhead bill automatically deferring all farm workers is approved by the Senate Military Affairs Committee. And in the absence of plan such reactionary measures as the Austin-Wadsworth labor draft bill and the Johnson "work or fight" bill begin to appeal to some as plausible substitutes.

The moral is plain: if we are to fulfill the requirements of the Army and Navy and meet the production goals for 1943, we can no longer postpone some such setup as is provided in the Tolan-Kilgore-Pepper bills for the establishment of an Office of War Mobilization to direct production, manpower, and economic stabilization. And once we start planning in this overall fashion it will be found that no problem will be neglected simply because it doesn't seem to fall into the province of a particular agency. The War Manpower Commission, for example, will not make plans for drafting fathers without seeing that something is done to provide wives of soldiers with something more than a miserable twenty-eight dollars a month, plus ten or twelve dollars for each child. Centralized planning is no abstraction, but something that springs out of the life of the people, a practical necessity of the war itself.

What About Africa?

NO ONE concerned with winning the worldwide fight against fascism can afford to ignore the problem so challengingly discussed on page 8 by our guest editorialist, Dr. L. D. Reddick: the problem of Africa's role in the war and the peace. He raises this issue sharply because of the prevalent ignorance and complacency in a country whose troops are now battling on African soil and one-tenth of whose population—13,000,000 Negroes—respond so sensitively to everything which affects that continent. The fact is that even many enlightened people tend to accept traditional imperialist practices in Africa which they condemn in other parts of the colonial world. Dr. Reddick epitomizes the problem in two sentences: "The newspapers seem to have conspired to reduce Africa to a *place*. . . . But Africa is also *people*." And it is toward the role of the African peoples as potential allies of the United Nations that he directs our attention.

Dr. Reddick's criticism of the treatment accorded the African peoples by most writers and speakers is well deserved, though of course the political outlook of a Hoover and a Wallace are at opposite poles. We are a bit surprised, however, at his remarks on Earl Browder's book *Victory—and After*. Far from ignoring Africa, Mr. Browder devotes an entire chapter to it. And far from reducing Africa to a mere place, his whole discussion is concerned with enlisting the African peoples as effective partners in the war. A prerequisite for this, he insists, is the elimination of the worst imperialist abuses and the granting of economic and political rights to the African peoples. We confess ourselves mystified by Dr. Reddick's reference to "Browder's elementary and sometimes vague proposals" in view of the fact that of the four excellent proposals which Dr. Reddick himself offers as "the essential elements" of "an adequate approach," three are included in Mr. Browder's book. The only one not specifically mentioned is the third, concerned with the peace and postwar planning; but since all discussion of postwar problems in *Victory—and After* is relegated to the final chapter, there can be no legitimate criticism on this score.

Poetry Judges

WILLIAM ROSE BENET, Eda Lou Walton, and Ridgely Torrence will be the judges in the contest for a poem most suitable for publication in NEW MASSES' special issue commemorating the 200th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson (April 13). For the benefit of readers who have not seen our previous announcements of the contest, the prize is twenty-five dollars, for the poem which best expresses the spirit of Jefferson in terms of the issues of to-day—however, it need not necessarily refer to Jefferson or his work. Each entrant may submit any number of poems. They must arrive in our office not later than Friday, March 26, and should be addressed to Poetry Contest Editor, NEW MASSES, 104 East Ninth St., New York City. NEW MASSES reserves the right to withhold the prize if no poem should be judged suitable for publication in the Jefferson anniversary issue.

Rather than hunting for differences in detail, we think there is every reason to feel gratified that the leader of the Communist Party, and a noted Negro scholar who is not a Communist are in such substantial agreement on the measures to be taken to make Africa and its people full participants in this war of liberation.

Still Enemy Viereck

IF ALL the technicalities discovered by the Supreme Court were laid end to end they couldn't overshadow the fact that George Sylvester Viereck is an enemy of the country. Still, five members of the highest bench found that he could not be convicted because the trial judge erroneously instructed the jury to find him guilty not only for his open activities in the interests of the Wilhelmstrasse, but also for those he carried on in private in "his own behalf." It seems that the law covered only the former at the time Viereck was on trial. Chief Justice Stone, therefore, claimed a technical foul.

Now we are only amateur constitutionalists without benefit of august robes in which to hide common sense. But it does seem to us to be the pinnacle of the ridiculous that Viereck could be sentenced

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for his public maneuvering as an enemy agent and not for his more dangerous undercover finagling. Justices Black and Douglas tried to clear the very muddy waters with the minority opinion that Viereck's "propaganda activities undertaken on his own behalf" were exactly of the same type and intended to accomplish the same objectives as those for which he was hired by Germany.

It is also too bad that William P. Maloney, who prosecuted the case for the government, was made a whipping boy in the reversal. Mr. Maloney was reprimanded for "prejudicing" the jury, for telling it that "This is war. It is a fight to the death. The American people are rely-

(*Continued on page 9*)

GUEST EDITORIAL

by Dr. L. D. Reddick

AFRICA IS PEOPLE

THE situation of the people of Africa is so critical that no opportunity, including this one, should be missed where there is a chance to clear up some of the confusion surrounding this matter. This confusion, both natural and deliberate, is indeed immense. The net result is that even in terms of the war the average citizen has little or no conception of the link between his own interests and those of the African people.

This lack of political understanding, of course, has deep roots. Those roots go back to our general ignorance of African history and culture. The picture of Africans as built up by sensationalistic travelers' accounts, movie and comic strip thrillers, anti-native propaganda of exploiting trader and misguided missionary has as its main feature the stereotype of benighted, half-naked, childlike, heathen cannibals. Nothing could be further from the truth—but this is not the place for that story just now.

THE point here is that the type of information and discussion that we *are* receiving actually *increases* the confusion which stems from our background of ignorance and misinformation. The daily news stories and the "what the war is about" books illustrate the point.

The newspapers seem to have conspired to reduce Africa to a *place*. We hear a great deal about various parts of the continent as actual or potential battle fields—how the tanks clash on the North African desert; how Rommel alternately dashed forward, then backward, and how the possession of Dakar and Madagascar is a strategic necessity. All well and good.

But Africa is also *people*. Why is it that we are not told how the people of Africa are faring, what they think, feel, and will-to-do about the great struggles now going on?

The situation is equally disappointing when we come to the books and speeches which are supposed to describe the nature of the war and the goals of real victory. This generalization holds true all across the whole political front from Hoover to Browder. Hoover and Gibson in their *Problems of a Lasting Peace* not only ignore the interests and welfare of the African people but almost assume that the continent is empty and may be useful, therefore, as a dumping ground for exported Europeans. In the highly publicized world federation plan of Ely Culbertson, the card game expert, "the crazy-quilt map of Africa" is to be eliminated by "the substitution of three great blocs." One bloc is assigned to the British Federation, another to the Latin Federation, and the third to the Germanic Federation. The possibility of a Native African Federation, apparently, has never occurred to the contract bridge champion. Vice-President Wallace, in one of the admittedly great speeches of the war, failed to include the African people in his global conception of *The Price of Free World Victory*, although the people of Germany, Italy, and Japan were included.

Earl Browder's *Victory—and After* is one of the strongest statements of the need for total mobilization of the "free" or "freedom-seeking" peoples everywhere; however, even here, the section on Africa is unsatisfactory. Browder's elementary and sometimes vague proposals become important only as a beginning, or when compared to the cynical indifference of a Hoover or Culbertson.

WHAT, then, are some of the essential elements which an adequate approach should embrace?

In the first place, we must operate upon the simple premise that since the African people are people, their freedom and welfare deserve consideration on the same level with the freedom and welfare of the people of Europe, Asia, or America. This sounds simple enough, but let the United Nations' declaration of war aims contain the specifics for Africa as for large areas elsewhere.

In the second place, the African people should be armed and permitted full participation in the fight against fascism. Not for some abstract slogan of "liberty" which does not include their own liberty, but for world freedom which shall be as concrete here as elsewhere. By now we should know that freedom, like peace, is indivisible. Obviously, the full use of Africa's fighting power and manpower would shorten the war.

Third, any commissions or conferences which shall deal with Africa in terms of the peace or postwar planning ought to include native African representatives. Further, whenever citizens of the United States are included in such undertakings, American *Negroes* should be included.

Fourth, fascist seems to be the only word which describes the treatment of the native population of the Union of South Africa. The color bar in employment, virtual disfranchisement, the denial of the elementary civil liberties, recurrent violence and murder, and the active, expansionist, anti-Negro program of the Union to extend its policies up to the equator should be pitilessly exposed as dangers to full mobilization of the manpower and morale of the freedom-loving peoples of the world against the Axis.

South Africa is indeed a case for the United Nations, for just as our failure to crush fascism in Europe has left us with a monster who came so near to destroying us all, so unless we curb and crush fascism in South Africa as directed against the native peoples, we shall have another Frankenstein on our hands.

In a word, if this is indeed a war for world freedom, a people's war, let it be just that. What happens to the African people will be one unanswerable test of the reality in all of these stirring declarations.

Dr. Reddick is curator of the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature at the New York Public Library.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(*Continued from page 8*)

ing upon you ladies and gentlemen for their protection against this sort of crime, just as much as they are relying upon the protection of the men who man the guns in Bataan Peninsula and everywhere else." If this is prejudice, according to the Court, then 130,000,000 people stand reprimanded for having decided feelings about Hitler.

The Justice Department has promised to seek a retrial. This time we hope that Viereck will have no technicalities to sustain him and that he will be convicted as a pure and simple fifth columnist along with the thirty-three others now under indictment for sedition. Prosecutor Maloney was removed by Attorney General Biddle from handling the case against this infamous caboodle because of pressure from a handful of defeatist congressmen led by Senator Wheeler. The Viereck opinion is another feather in their swastika-lined caps and helps the whole nest of rodents nibbling at the country's security.

We were dismayed to see that Max Lerner, commenting on the decision in *PM*, discovered in it a vindication of our tradition of civil liberties. Since when does our Constitution extend rights to purveyors of political bubonic plague? It may be embarrassing for Mr. Lerner to know that George E. Sokolsky, tory columnist for the tory New York *Sun*, agrees with him in effect. On March 5 Sokolsky wrote: "It is far more hopeful for our future to witness justice in our courts than that a sympathizer of the Nazi be punished." All of this beneficence toward an enemy must come under the label of legalistic cyanide.

Suffer, Little Children?

How dare we tell the men in the foxholes of North Africa and New Guinea that America—great America—is remiss in protecting their little brothers and sisters? Yet explain we must, for the figures of child delinquency are dangerously on the rise. In New York, for example, new arraignments of deliquents jumped to 741 in February, as compared with 617 in the same month last year. And the statistics are misleading; the number of arrests signify but a small fraction of the actual numbers involved. It is obviously impossible, and undesirable, that the policeman be the sole agency assigned to find a solution.

A Mayor's committee to investigate is no answer either. Facts are all too plentiful: a stroll through the streets after dark tells the story. What, in practice, is being done about it? Mrs. Claire Argow, director of the Society for the Prevention of Crime,

Werner, Chicago Sun

"Oh, so convenient."

says the problem "is so serious that we cannot afford to close our eyes to it." Do something about it now, she pleads. And Councilman Stanley Isaacs has added that the solution lies in grappling with "underlying conditions." We feel that the proposals of Dr. Alice V. Keliher, director of child and youth service for New York's Civilian Defense Volunteer Office, appoach the heart of the question. The eight-point Children's Charter for New York, which she urged at a conference on child care sponsored by the Welfare Council of New York, includes:

The provision of secure homes and family living; a guarantee of adequate health service; provision for a comprehensive education; social services to meet increased needs; vigilant patriots to guarantee that the wartime needs of children are met; the maintenance of a national program for social security as a basic element in child welfare; the development of a zealous volunteer service to assist in wartime emergencies; and preparations for a future centralized program of services for children.

All to the good; it seems, however, that progress in reality is tragically slow. Things would be speeded up considerably if the unions would lend their full impact to the solution and if our federal government would pay greater attention to our children. The solution will certainly not be found in actions such as that taken by the House Appropriations Committee, which brutally refused to approve the meager appropriation for $1,200,000 for maternal care of stranded wives of American soldiers. This action, or lack of it, typifies the callous, shortsighted attitude of too many congressmen toward crucial war issues. And children are a war issue. It is time the people had their say, made it felt, on behalf of the men who are giving their lives for nothing more than the guarantee that America's children will grow up in a better world. What will our soldiers think when they hear the juvenile delinquency is still rising? And that we are still in the talking stage?

Standley's Cheek

As we go to press and without knowing what realistic and sensible elements in Washington will say, it does seem to us that Ambassador Standley's remarks about the supposed failure of Soviet officials to publicly acknowledge American lend-lease aid is the height of cheek. Not only does his statement to a group of foreign correspondents in Moscow contradict the facts, but this kind of talk helps no one but the Allied coalition's worst enemies. The facts are simple: the Soviet press has only recently published lend-lease figures—the same figures released by Edward R. Stettinius in Washington. And as early as Nov. 7, 1941, Stalin told the Soviet people that Great Britain and the United States were sending planes and tanks as well as aluminum, lead, tin, nickel, and rubber. Soviet officials have repeatedly thanked Americans for their medical assistance to the Red Army.

As for the supposed failure of Soviet military authorities to permit any Americans to observe their operations—that is unmitigated nonsense. The New York *Times* of March 7 publishes an account of Brig. Gen. Patrick Hurley's visit to the desperately contested Don-Stalingrad front early in December. He was accompanied by three American Army officers, one of whom wrote in *Air Force*, official service journal, that "Neither section of our trip to the fighting lines was a sight-seeing expedition; they were military reconnaissances in which every pertinent fact was laid out by the commanding generals of a great offensive operation for the critical scrutiny of the officers of an Allied army. The cooperation in this respect could not have been more complete if we had been observers with our own forces."

Last week an American ambassador praised an enemy—Franco—as though he were our best friend. This week we find another ambassador reprimanding a friend as though he were our worst enemy. The time has come for these ambiguities to be tossed into the waste basket. The question still remains: where would we be today if the Russians had not been successfully engaging ninety percent of the Nazi forces?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

WHAT AILS THE MIKADO

LAST week the American Army Air Force of General MacArthur's Australian command won a resounding victory over the Japanese on the approaches to New Guinea. Our fliers completely destroyed a Japanese convoy totaling twenty-two ships, twelve of which were transports under the protection of ten warships, including destroyers and two cruisers.

It is interesting to note that the Japanese attempted to protect their convoy with land-based aviation. They fought it out with our land-based aircraft with the chances about even. The result was astounding: 102 enemy aircraft shot down, while we lost three fighters and one bomber. (The Japanese had about 150 planes in action, we had about 125.)

The dozen enemy transport vessels sunk were carrying about one Japanese division of infantry for the reinforcement of the Japanese bases in the Lae area. The entire division was drowned. All in all the enemy lost *two ships* for every man we lost.

The Battle of the Bismarck Sea is the latest of four victories in air-sea battles fought by us during the last ten months. In the Battle of the Coral Sea the Japanese lost fifteen ships. In the Battle of Midway they lost eight.

In the Battle of the Solomons, in mid-November, the enemy lost twenty-eight ships, though we lost heavily, too. Thus, in net results, the Battle of the Bismarck Sea is our most clear-cut victory so far.

It is also interesting to note the Japanese method of action in the South Pacific during the last few months. As one military observer put it, they seem always to be "sending a boy to do a man's job." Just look at this last operation. It was important to the Japanese, just as important as it is for them to hold New Guinea as a sort of Sword of Damocles over Australia. But what did they send in? A weakly protected convoy with a whole division in it. No aircraft carriers, no battleships, no heavy cruisers. What did they bank on, knowing that, plane for plane, they are about three times weaker than we? They *seem* to have banked on the weather, which was supposed to remain foul until they reached Lae but somehow didn't. But that is a slim reason for what they did. There must have been another. And that, I believe, is simply that the Japanese haven't got the stuff. They are short of aircraft carriers, they are short of transports and ships generally and they are short of men.

Consider their offensive in China. They struck three weeks ago on six or seven fronts. They openly said that they were going to knock China out of the war. But what do we see now? The offensives have not made any appreciable headway and the Japanese already talk of "mopping up." We know what that means: their offensives were a fizzle.

What General Chennault said of the Japanese Air Force can, I think, be said of their armed forces in general: it seems to me they are on the decline, with the exception of the Kwantung Army which has been carefully husbanded, reinforced, pampered, and saved. This is the army which stands poised on the border of the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic. It represents approximately one-half of the total Japanese land army, with a good proportion of the Air Force.

It would appear that the time has come to strike energetically in the South Pacific. Action of our task forces in the northern Solomons might presage such action in the near future.

ALLIED forces have canceled all of Rommel's gains in his latest offensive in Central Tunisia. We now hold the line of Ousseltia-Pichon-Hadjeb el Aioun-Faid Pass-Gafsa (the latter two points are still in enemy hands, but we are very close to them). Down near the confines of the Chott Djerid, the French have captured Nefta and are marching on Tozeur. Thus the big enemy operation in the direction of Tebessa came a dismal cropper.

But the resourceful Rommel-Arnim team will not take things lying down. Having met with failure in the center of the Tunisian *place d'armes*, they struck at the two extremities. Arnim is pushing in the north toward Tabarka on the sea and Beja. After some initial successes and a penetration of British lines to the depth of several miles, von Arnim has been stopped cold without reaching his objectives. Away down south Rommel has thrust out of the Mareth line, near the sea, but has been repulsed with heavy losses.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the Axis cannot win in Tunisia and that a powerful diversion on their part in another Mediterranean sector is imperative. On the other hand, the seesaw fighting in Tunisia may last a long time. It also becomes clear that as far as we are concerned *direct action against Europe without waiting for the Tunisian campaign to be completed is also imperative.*

It now appears that the twelve-day "round-the-clock" aerial offensive against Europe's railway system, ports, and submarine bases might really be construed as a preliminary to some kind of direct action on land. Let us hope it is so.

ON THE Eastern Front the world has been treated to a strategic performance of extraordinary brilliance by the Red Army. As the thaw was beginning to impede the swift progress of the Red forces on the Southern Front and as the Germans had just committed their strategic reserves to a counterblow in the Krasnoarmeisk-Kramatorsk sector, Marshal Timoshenko struck way up north and cracked the great German fortified salient around Demyansk in the foothills of the Valdai. This operation delivered a shattering blow to the German Sixteenth Army and paved the way for future action along the Pskov operational direction. Immediately following this blow, General Purkayev struck at Rzhev and captured this super-citadel which the Germans had built during the last seventeen months. Purkayev's success not only destroyed the last potential threat to Moscow, but cleared the Moscow-Velikie Luki trunk line, thus providing a powerful and badly needed "feed-line" for the Soviet salient aimed at the line of the Dvina. General Konyev of the Central Front struck at Gzhatsk and carried this citadel, the nearest German base point to Moscow.

Now Red Armies are converging on Vyazma. It is, however, quite possible that they will by-pass this city and strike further west, so as to effect a junction with Soviet troops reported moving west from Yukhnov, in the neighborhood of Safonovo, halfway between Vyazma and Smolensk.

THESE two operations (really three, if we count the thrust along the line Kaluga-Yukhnov, which has been reported by the Germans, but not yet confirmed by the Soviets), have created two areas of envelopment, in which two German salients are pinched. The German fortified area of Smolensk-Vyazma is in grave danger, and so is their Orel-Bryansk area. The latter's danger was enhanced a few days ago by the capture of Sevsk which is only nineteen miles east of the Moscow-Bryansk-Kiev trunkline. If the junction of Khutor-Mi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

khailovski is captured by the Red Army, all German lateral communications in the center will be shoved back on the great junction of Gomel. This would greatly hamper the mobility of the enemy and his ability to shift reserves to meet the rolling attack of the Red generals.

THERE is another month of cold weather ahead of the Red Army on the sector of the front north of the Orel-Bryansk-Gomel line. The marshes and rivers surrounding Staraya Russa, for instance, will remain hard until the first days of April, but—the further the Red Army advances toward the Baltic Sea, the more the influence of the Gulf Stream will be felt. West of the Pskov-Polotsk line the thermometer, normally speaking, will rise earlier than it does on the Staraya Russa-Smolensk line. This must be considered in evaluating the possibilities for early spring.

If the Red Army is stopped by the thaws before it has reached the line of the Dvina at least, and *broken* it, the Germans will have the breathing spell they need so badly for reorganization. The war will be immeasurably prolonged and will cost not only the Red Army, but the other United Nations armies, hundreds of thousands, and even millions of additional lives.

The Ides of March, practically here already, are still the fateful time for a blow at Europe. Let us hope that the great Allied aerial offensive over Europe this time is not another one of those "unattached preliminaries"—that it is a preliminary which will have an immediate sequel.

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

WHAT PRICE FOOD?

Washington.

THE OPA order which convinced vegetable and fruit canners that the country was surely going to the dogs was the one setting down regulations for the labeling of canned goods according to quality. To the housewife the order might not appear so outrageous, particularly in these days of point rationing when every purchase must be made with care and foresight. But then, the housewife doesn't understand that such protection, according to the canners, threatens private initiative, the Constitution, and all basic liberties. If she did she would be glad to learn that the canners gathered in Washington last week and decided to spend up to $1,000,000 to force the Office of Price Administration to withdraw the nefarious ruling.

In fact, ever since the ruling was issued these processors have supported a lobby to Washington to high-pressure Congress and the OPA. Up to now, the lobby has failed to bring OPA to a complete stop. Hence the decision to spend $1,000,000, a large amount in anyone's language. The canners are encouraged by the knowledge that they have plenty of company in their assault on OPA. The way things look at the moment the anti-price control agitators in Congress —read farm bloc and supporters—confidently expect to scuttle the agency once and for all.

FOR a proper perspective on the present drive in Congress, it is imperative to understand that price-control stands or falls on the ability to preserve reasonable ceilings on food products. Very logically, considering the farm bloc's allegiance to the National Association of Manufacturers and to the largest landholders, rather than to the overwhelming majority of average farmers, the bloc concentrates on breaking through present ceilings on agricultural commodities. The notorious Bankhead bill has already won Senate approval. It provides for a ten to twenty percent rise in food prices by prohibiting inclusion of incentive subsidies, conservation, and other farm benefit payments in parity calculations. Before OPA can stabilize food prices, agricultural products must achieve parity levels (that is, farmers must receive a price for their commodities allowing them the same ratio between what they receive and the general price level as that which obtained in the period 1909-14). The Bankhead bill redefines this ratio by changing the manner in which it is computed; according to this bill, parity would be figured not on *total* payments received by the farmer for his crops, but on payments *other than* those received in the form of subsidies and benefits.

In the same way, the Steagall and Brown bills, approved by the House Banking and Currency Committees, redefined parity at new and higher levels. (Steagall's bill is the same as Bankhead's, and Brown's includes farm labor costs in computing parity.) If any one of these bills becomes law the effect on American economy will be disastrous. Even members of the farm bloc do not pretend that the raising of parity levels will stimulate production of farm products; the new parity is desired, quite frankly, for no other purpose than to swell the profits of the few. Naturally, consumers will suffer, for the immediate rise that must result in food prices spells the difference for many families between enough to eat and not enough. A huge proportion of American families cannot afford sufficient food if prices go up beyond present levels. The effect on the war effort will be all too obvious.

NOR does this tell the whole story. Inflation leads to further inflation. Actually, the present farm bloc campaign is only conceived by its supporters as an opener —if successful, the bloc expects to push on to still more sweeping depredations. All prices eventually would tend to rise to meet farm prices—and the inflationary race would be on.

The fact is, one-third of the average family budget goes into food. Rising food prices directly jeopardize the living standards of the majority. Inflation of food prices, even if not followed—as inevitably it will be—by inflation of all other prices, can only result in widespread suffering, can only hamper the war effort by undermining the health, security, morale, and above all the efficiency of the people.

True enough, OPA has been slow to get under way. Because of the confused (at best) policies of the Department of Agriculture, and because of farm bloc intransigence (among other factors), OPA failed to hold prices at more reasonable levels. Still, OPA managed to prevent the worst skyrocketing of prices. Stabilization, even though accomplished at high levels, can be attained—but only if the farm bloc is beaten. In the light of what happened in the last war, when oranges sold for ten cents apiece and a dozen eggs cost ninety cents and more, OPA's record so far seems encouraging. Once the farm bloc smashes through farm prices, however, the inflationary disaster of World War I threatens to be repeated, very likely on a far more catastrophic scale. What this can mean is suggested by Table I on the next page.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What happens to food prices when no ceilings are set becomes clear from a glance at Table II. At present, most items of food not previously regulated have been placed under OPA controls—ninety-six percent of food products in all. The benefits of control can be illustrated by what happened to butter prices in Washington after OPA stepped in to set a fifty-seven-cent-per-pound ceiling. While some stores raised butter prices to take advantage of the high limit, and while quality rulings were more often violated than enforced, nevertheless the average price of butter dropped by 15 cents per pound from the inflated price of seventy-two cents per pound. The relief offered to the average family, while too frequently inadequate, was considerable.

OPA seems seriously to be getting down to business. The agency issued an order on March 5 setting dollar-and-cent ceilings on pork according to the cut purchased. Moreover, the OPA promised to extend this dollar-and-cent ceiling to beef, veal, lamb, and mutton, and to apply it to hundreds of other common foodstuffs. With specific maximum *retail prices* indicated, the ordinary purchaser learns for the first time precisely what he must pay for the food products he needs. This is exactly what the CIO has always urged. On this basis, it is possible to establish effective "price warden systems," with participation of neighborhood groups, women's organizations, consumers' clubs, and labor union members—in other words, participation of the people living on any average block in any average city or town.

True, OPA should have spent the past months rolling prices back to more normal levels, instead of being content merely to hold them at present high marks.

It is, however, making progress toward the prevention of out-of-hand inflation. But all its best-laid plans will become meaningless if the farm bloc succeeds in passing legislation now before Congress.

UNFORTUNATELY, there is no magic formula to put a sudden halt to the bloc's program, or to force the Department of Agriculture to cooperate more fully and more willingly with OPA. The new OPA dollar-and-cent order can be made to work only if—and the "if" should be emphasized—the order receives more than formal approbation from the unions and other organizations of the people. Its effectiveness depends on how much energetic support it receives in action, how immediately this support is forthcoming, how tellingly it is expressed, how deeply it reaches into the neighborhoods, how generally it enlists the energies of consumers in every walk of life.

The failure to achieve genuine price-control endangers the war effort as profoundly as the failure to get maximum production. After all, inflation menaces efficiency, menaces the whole economy. Price-control, and its twin, rationing, are not luxuries, they are essential to victory. The members of the farm bloc, however, seem to be not unduly concerned about the outcome of the war. They have repeatedly shown that victory is less important to them than the profits of their NAM masters.

TABLE I

COMMODITY	PRICE PEAK, World War I	OCTOBER, 1942	Percent Increase Necessary To Reach Peak of World War I
Sugar, lb.	$ .267	$ .068	**293%**
Potatoes, 15 lbs.	1.545	.511	**209%**
Lard, lb.	.420	.173	**143%**
Navy Beans, lb.	.195	.092	**112%**
Prunes, lb.	.302	.160	**89%**
Coffee, lb.	.493	.282	**75%**
Corn Meal, lb.	.081	.051	**59%**
Wheat Flour, 10 lbs.	.880	.553	**59%**
Fresh Eggs, doz.	.924	.585	**58%**
Whole Ham, lb.	.604	.384	**57%**
Rice, lb.	.187	.125	**50%**
Butter, lb.	.780	.540	**44%**
Bacon, lb.	.585	.413	**42%**
Cheese, lb.	.445	.359	**24%**

TABLE II

COMMODITY	Price Change May-Oct. 1941 (Prices uncontrolled)	Price Change May-Oct. 1941 (Prices controlled by OPA)
Pork Chops	+ 19.4	— 0.2
Pink Salmon	+ 18.5	+ 0.9
Milk	+ 11.5	+ 0.7
Canned Peas	+ 3.0	— 7.6
		(Prices still uncontrolled)*
Oranges	+ 32.5	+ 41.7
Butter	+ 5.3	+ 18.2
Lettuce	— 4.1	+ 51.1
Spinach	+ 7.9	+ 32.9

*** All these products are now finally controlled by OPA**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW TO BEAT THE U-BOAT

An estimate of the undersea menace. The "lack of shipping" pretext in new guise. Its fallacies. Smashing the U-boat "where it lives."

At one point during the first world war, the Kaiser's submarines nearly brought England to her knees. Nevertheless, the Allies mastered the U-boat in time to prevent it from interfering with the victorious offensives of 1918. We today have had no such success. It is almost spring of the year in which the United Nations must strike a decisive blow in Europe, and we face, instead of a decimated U-boat fleet, one which is stronger than ever.

Last year Nazi submarines sank many millions of tons of shipping. Undersea warfare has never been so effective. Since we are still destroying the raiders only half as fast as they come from German yards and their numbers are still growing, this year we may lose even more.

This creates an extremely serious situation. We are not, of course, threatened with imminent paralysis and defeat at sea, as the Allies were in 1917, for we are finally building ships more rapidly than they are sunk. On the other hand, the Nazi inroads into the United Nations merchant fleet are bound to affect unfavorably whatever we do. It is even possible that our losses will be twisted into an excuse for postponing the second front to 1944 or later.

Despite the announced British and American pledges and the fact that specific preparations are going ahead, it must be said that certain men in high places labor diligently to forestall a full scale Allied landing in western Europe this year. There are some unreconstructed gentlemen in London and Washington to whom the second front is not a means of crushing the Axis, but of bedeviling the USSR. They favor early invasion of the Continent only so long as rapid Russian advances make it appear that Soviet troops might otherwise get to Berlin first. When the Red Army is slowed their eagerness to come to grips with the enemy speedily disappears and they return to their first love, a policy of doing nothing in the hope that the Nazis will bleed the Soviet Union white. Out loud, however, the appeasolationists suddenly discover "insuperable obstacles" to the opening of a second front.

Among the "obstacles" used by the die-hard clique is "lack of shipping." For the present the clique is giving the second front at least nominal support. The ground for a switch, however, is already being prepared by certain military writers who emphasize want of shipping as the principal barrier to our invasion of Europe and imply that the U-boat must be halted first. Unfortunately the usually perspicacious Major George Fielding Eliot, of the New York *Herald Tribune,* is among them. Such views so far have received *open* support from few of the Munichmen still in key positions. But it is easy to foresee circumstances under which these views would carry great weight. For example, in the event of an Allied reverse in North Africa following Nazi occupation of Spain, President Roosevelt and Churchill would encounter increased pressure to postpone the second front "until we are more fully prepared, especially in shipping."

The "exterminate the U-boats first" argument is fallacious on two counts. First, while we do not have the number of ships ideally desirable, we do have enough to transport and supply the invading force. And second, it happens that seizure of the northern French coast—still the most suitable landing point on the Continent—is actually one of the most effective anti-submarine measures which can be devised.

While since the beginning of the war the Allies have lost many millions of tons of shipping, British and American yards in the same period reached very nearly the same total. Thus we have roughly as much shipping today as we had to begin with. Its efficiency has been reduced, of course, by the necessity of traveling in convoy. But a great deal of the lost carrying capacity can be regained by eliminating the many wasteful practices, some of them hangovers of business-as-usual, which still characterize the handling of Allied ships. Moreover, most of the second front troops, much of the equipment, and many of the sources of supply are already close to the Continent—in England. Although we shall have to scrape the bottom of the United Nations marine barrel, there is no reason whatever why the gigantic Anglo-American-Dutch-Norwegian-Danish merchant fleet, comprising almost two-thirds of the world's tonnage at the start of the war, should prove insufficient.

Germany's unusual success with the U-boat is the result of half a dozen different factors. For one thing, the modern German submarine, a major concentration point of Nazi war industry, is vastly superior technically to the submarines of other powers. Its hull plating, for instance, is of extraordinary thickness, which not only enables it to dive deeper to escape pursuers, but makes it less vulnerable to the most widely used anti-submarine weapon, the depth charge. It can fire its torpedoes without poking its periscope above the surface of the water, and it carries an extremely heavy armament for a craft of its size. Furthermore, it is faster and has a longer radius of operations than comparable submarines. Other special features help make it a more formidable foe than any of the Allied navies—whose defense measures were calculated on the basis of their own undersea craft—anticipated. Also, under the direction of Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz, longtime head of the Nazi Submarine Service and new commander-in-chief of the German Navy, the Nazis have sufficiently mastered the art of underwater coordination to permit them to hunt in packs. The rest of the world's submarines must still operate singly. Obviously, the organized pack carries a greater punch.

Admiral Doenitz' U-boats also owe their effectiveness to the German army. A generation ago, in order to reach Allied shipping lanes, German submarines had to run the gamut in the North Sea and through the English Channel. They had no bases on the Atlantic. Consequently, the Allies eventually succeeded in bottling up the Kaiser's U-boat fleet by laying mines across the Channel and northern exits from the North Sea. The mine barriers were among the principal factors in the steep decline of Allied shipping losses after April 1917.

Today, of course, thanks to the Nazi conquest of all western Europe, the Ger-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man raiders are based right on the ocean and there is no possibility of keeping them from the sea. Substitutes for the mine barrage, such as aerial bombardment of Brest, Lorient, St. Nazaire, and the other new enemy bases—foiled by the famous reinforced concrete sheds the Nazis have erected over the U-boat docks—have so far had little effect. (Air attacks on building yards in the Reich have been almost as unproductive. The yards are widely dispersed and strongly defended.) There is, in fact, only one way to overcome the Nazis' present geographic advantage, namely, by actual seizure of the bases from the Germans; in other words, by invading Europe. In that way, the U-boats can be driven back to the North Sea and subjected to the treatment which neutralized them in the last war. The very condition which the appeasolationists use as an excuse to delay the second front can best be remedied by the opening of the second front.

IN THE meantime, our anti-U-boat measures require strengthening. For another of the factors underlying the German success has been the inadequacy of our defenses. Throughout the last year, the Allies have maintained an average of a dozen submarines a month destroyed, a rate half again as high as that which decimated the Imperial fleet in 1917-18. But adequacy is a matter of relativity. German war industry is now turning out twenty-five to thirty-five U-boats monthly, three or four times as many as during the World War. The Nazi submarine force is growing by at least one vessel a week and now has a total strength of 400 to 500. By that standard, our anti-submarine measures, notwithstanding their improvement since the last war, are insufficient. In particular, we now need more and better escort craft.

THE US Navy, rather than the British, is the guilty party in this respect. The British have cut other construction to an absolute minimum and are building escorts nearly to the limit of their physical capacity, and it is to the United States that the United Nations must look for the additional vessels required. The US Navy, however, underestimated the German fleet, in numbers and in technical and tactical efficiency —an inexcusable blunder since it had the benefit of full information from the British even before we were bombed into the war. As a result, the Navy failed to order the right anti-submarine vessel in time.

As originally drawn, our 1942 naval building program included no escorts of the British corvette type. The corvette, nearly as large as a destroyer, but without the destroyer's expensive greyhound speed and fleet-combat equipment, and with better sea-keeping qualities, has proved itself the best of ocean-going submarine exterminators. The Navy, however, ordered vessels of two smaller types only, the SC's and PC's, neither one large enough for protracted service at sea. The mistake is only now being corrected.

In order to make up the lost months, construction of ocean-going escorts must be given topmost priority, even at the cost of a considerable reduction of some other phases of the war program. There is a tendency to believe that the growth of our shipbuilding industry makes such concentration upon escort ships unnecessary. This is not so. Although merchant ship launchings, which now total better than 1,000,000 tons a month and are increasing, are double current sinkings, an endless flood of replacements is not the answer. For every ship which is sunk gives fascism an additional moment of life it would not have had if the ship and its cargo of supplies reached their destination intact. Thus the urgency of a vigorous anti-submarine campaign in all its phases, from more escort vessels to a second front this spring.

JOSEPH REED.

Goodmorning, Stalingrad!

Goodmorning, Stalingrad!
Lots of folks who don't like you
Had give you up for dead.
But you ain't dead!

Goodmorning, Stalingrad!
Where I live down in Dixie
Things is bad—
But they're not so bad
I still can't say,
Goodmorning, Stalingrad!
And I'm not so dumb
I still don't know
That as long as your red star
Lights the sky,
We won't die.

Goodmorning, Stalingrad!
You're half a world away or more
But when your guns roar,
They roar for me—
And for everybody
Who wants to be free.
Goodmorning, Stalingrad!

Some folks try to tell me down this way
That you're our ally *just* for today.
That may be so—for those who want it so.
But as for me—you're my ally
Until we *all* are free.

Goodmorning, Stalingrad!
When crooks and klansmen
Lift their heads and things is bad,
I can look way across the sea
And see where simple working folks like me
Lift their heads, too, with gun in hand
To drive the fascists from the land.

You've stood between us well,
Stalingrad!
The folks who hate you'd
Done give you up for dead—
They were glad.

But you ain't dead!

And you won't be
As long as I am you
And you are me—
For you have allies everywhere,
All over the world, who care.
And they
Are with you more
Than just today.

Listen! I don't own no radio—
Can't send no messages through the air.
But I reckon you can hear me,
Anyhow, away off there.
And I know you know
I mean it when I say,
(Maybe in a whisper
To keep the Klan away)
Goodmorning, Stalingrad!

I'm glad
You ain't dead!

GOODMORNING, STALINGRAD!

LANGSTON HUGHES.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INSIDE HITLER'S EUROPE

What have we and Britain done to help the millions on the Continent to decisive action? Perils of our policy. Spotlight on Poland and Yugoslavia.

London.

WHAT has been done by the Allies of the anti-Hitler coalition to organize and encourage the struggle of the peoples of occupied Europe?

The Soviet Union has never for a moment hesitated to support it to the utmost. Within a few weeks of the Nazi attack on the USSR the Soviet government signed agreements with the Polish and Czechoslovak governments for units of their national armies to be formed on Soviet soil. Large Polish forces were in fact constituted and trained in the USSR, although for some reason the Polish government withdrew them instead of sending them to the front. Czech units have been formed. Furthermore, in its relations with Czechoslovakia the Soviet government was the first to recognize, not only the cancellation of the Munich agreement, but the integral frontiers of the Czechoslovak republic as they stood before Munich. Every Czechoslovak fighter at home and abroad now knows that, so far as the Red Army is concerned, he is fighting for a land which will once again be his after victory, beyond any doubt.

The Soviet recognition of the Fighting French went farther at the time than any other similar Allied document. This was followed up immediately by the arrival of a large group of French airmen to fight in the ranks of the Red Army. General de Gaulle's newspaper in London, *La Marseillaise*, recently noted the fraternal welcome given the French fliers and their satisfaction at the equipment and conditions provided for them.

The Soviet government was giving valuable assistance to the Norwegian fighters for their country's freedom many months ago, as Norwegians in London have declared. Today its help to the partisans, headed by Larsen and operating in Northern Norway and Finland, is of very great significance. In this case as in many others, experience in more ways than one has proved the justification of Stalin's statement early in the war, on July 3, 1941, that "our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties."

HOW do matters stand with the other leading Allied governments, those of Britain and the United States? The British government placed British territory, either at home or elsewhere, at the disposal of the authorities driven from the occupied countries, as a base where they could reconstitute themselves and begin raising new fighting forces. It helped a number of these authorities to recruit, train, and equip those new forces. It enables them to publish newspapers in Great Britain and to address their captive peoples through the British Broadcasting Corp. The British government has restored Ethiopia as a state and has notified the Czechoslovak government that it regards the Munich agreement as null and void—without, however, committing itself to the restoration of Czechoslovak territorial integrity. All these represent substantial contributions to the struggle of the European peoples. But they are far from adequate, either to those peoples' needs or to what Britain could do; and their effectiveness is very considerably hindered by a number of disquieting facts.

Of these, the outstanding, governing fact is that certain influential groups, both in Britain and America, sometimes with government authority and sometimes on their own, are still free to carry on intrigues. The effect of these intrigues—whether they are intended as such or not is a secondary question—can only be to create forces among the Allies to act as policemen on behalf of reaction.

The most recent, flagrant, and continuing case in point is, of course, that of North Africa. It is not enough for the British government to dissociate itself by implication from this policy, by handing over control of Madagascar to a representative of General de Gaulle; or by Mr. Eden promising in the House of Commons, as he did recently, that political prisoners detained for being pro-Ally will be liberated. The British government has got to meet the cruel joke which was circulating among the Allies in December: "It seems that Hess arrived too soon."

The existence of subterranean reactionary and even fascist influences in the ruling groups of the other Western Allies has made itself felt more than once. Thus the Belgian Minister of Information, Delfosse, gave an interview to an anti-Soviet newspaper, the *Catholic Herald* (notorious for its support of Petain and Franco) which was a direct incitement to Belgian Catholics against the labor movement. The existence of fascist and anti-Semitic groups among the officers of the Belgian army in England is a frequent source of complaint among the rank-and-file, and was brought out in a court martial in recent months. Again, it is not accidental that the Dutch government hesitated for a full twelve months before proposing the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet government; and that the principal opponent was the Foreign Minister himself, Van Kleffens. (It must in fairness be recognized that the broadcast of Queen Wilhelmina on December 6, promising to call a conference for the reconstruction of the Dutch kingdom after the war, presents the opportunity, if not yet the absolute pledge, for a considerable advance of democracy in the Dutch empire. In the conference "the Netherlands, Indonesia, Surinam, and Curacao will take part with complete self-reliance and freedom of conduct for each part regarding its internal affairs, but with readiness to render mutual assistance. . . . This would leave no room for discrimination according to race or nationality.") Only in the case of the Norwegian government is there a more or less clean record so far as democratic policy and friendly relations with the USSR are concerned.

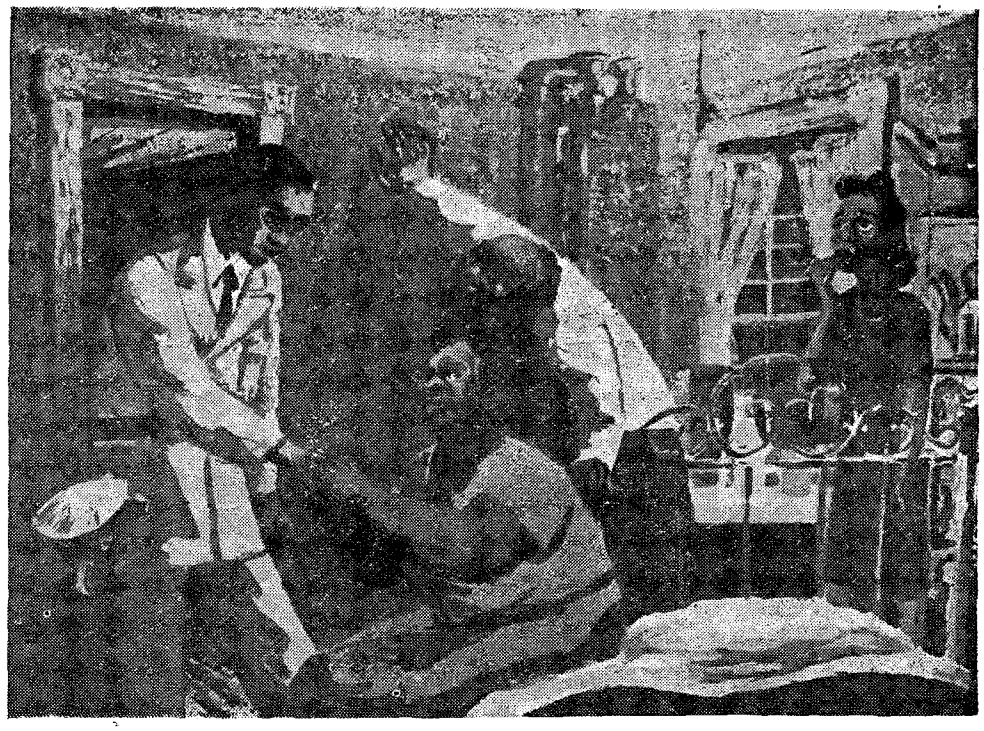
A total contrast is presented by the Polish government in London. It has the blackest of records among all the Allies in regard to tolerating anti-Semitic, anti-democratic, and anti-Soviet propaganda and practices in its armed forces (up to the point of beating up Jewish and democratic soldiers). On the plea of "freedom of

(*Continued on page* 18)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this is OUR WAR

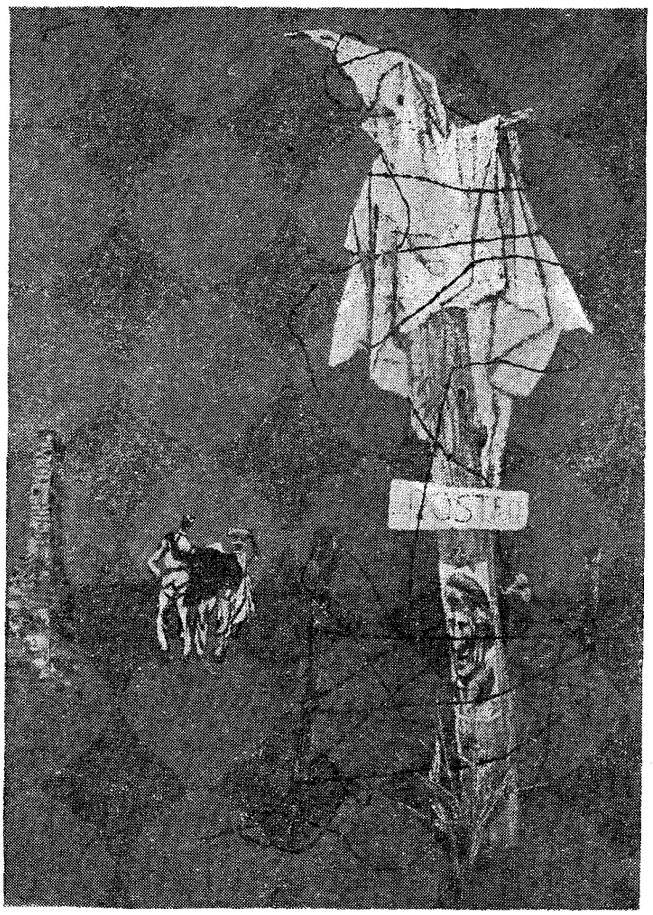
UNDER that title an exhibit by the Artists League of America opened March 2 at the Wildenstein Galleries in New York City, and will continue through March 25. The photographs on this page represent only a small sampling of the exhibit, in which eighty-eight artists are represented, with eighty-eight paintings and twelve pieces of sculpture. Their work deals with numerous aspects of the war against fascism, including the home front, production, women in the war, etc. This exhibit, which is the first of its kind, will be reviewed by Mayer Symason in next week's NEW MASSES.



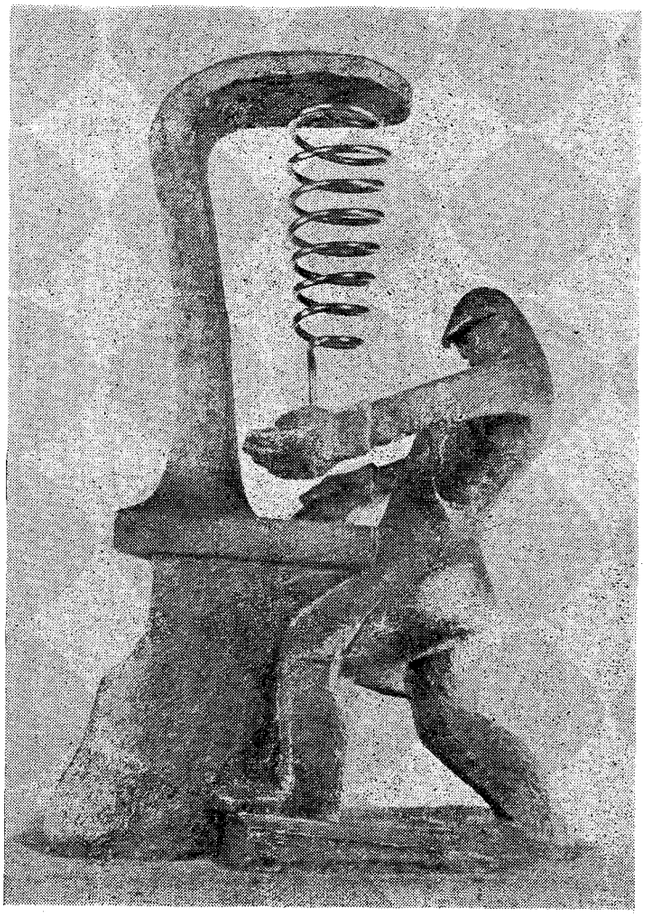
"Fighter for Democracy," by Charles Keller

"Winter Soldiers," by Elizabeth Olds

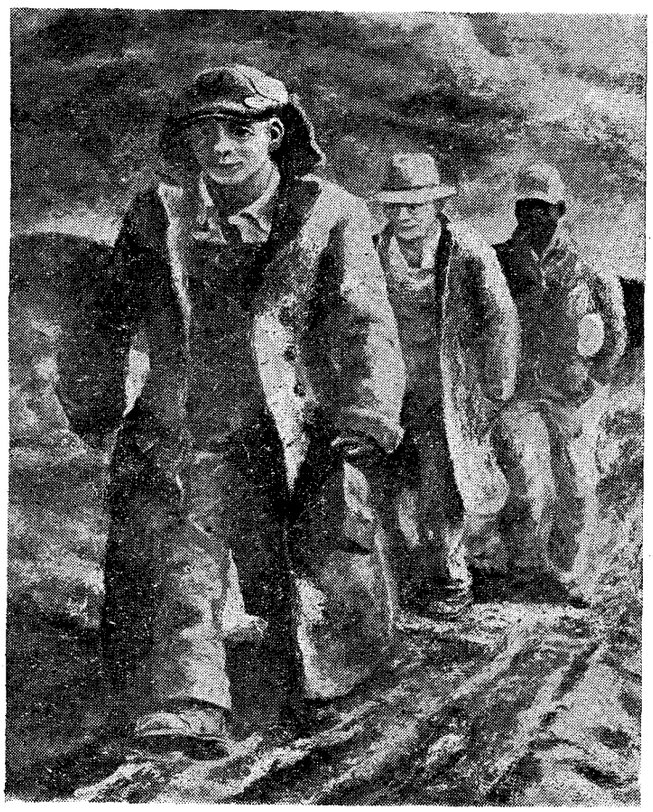
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"Unfinished Business," by Robert Gwathmey



"Man and Machine," by Aaron J. Goodelman



"The Greatcoat," by Jim Turnbull

"They Sang as They Marched," by Nat Werner

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the press" its Censorship and Ministry of Information tolerate the existence of a swarm of "unofficial" weeklies, fortnightlies, and monthlies, of varying shades of opinion, but all united in this—that they carry on the most frenzied anti-Soviet propaganda. They spread lies about the alleged ill treatment of Poles in the USSR, demand return of the liberated territories of the Ukraine and Byelorussia to colonial slavery under Polish rule, spread incessant suggestions that there may be a separate Soviet-German peace—and all with complete impunity. In the first week of December the Polish National Council (a substitute parliament of nominated members) in utter defiance of the Soviet-Polish Treaty passed a resolution declaring: "In the question of our eastern frontier, the National Council holds to the basis of the Treaty of Riga" [i.e., to the 1920 document by which under pressure of military exhaustion, the Soviet government was forced to agree to parts of Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelorussia passing under Polish rule]. At the same time, as was noted earlier, the Polish government saw to it that the army raised in 1941 on Soviet territory, and with Soviet assistance, was not sent to the front to fight the Germans, but was withdrawn to Iran for some unexplained purpose.

WHAT extensions this policy may lead to can be seen from the development of Polish-Czechoslovak relations. The restoration of Czechoslovakia's 1938 frontier would mean that the mining district of Teschen, inhabited by a Czech majority, but which the then Polish government snatched when the Germans were taking their grab after Munich, would go back to Czechoslovakia. So far is the present Polish government from accepting this position that it sent a strong protest to General de Gaulle when he notified the Czechoslovaks that the French National Committee regards the 1938 frontiers as in existence. Moreover, the Czechoslovak President, Eduard Benes, was obliged in common justice to appoint a representative of Teschen to the Czechoslovak State Council. He was assailed for this in the most bitter terms by the Polish "unofficial" press which nowadays writes quite openly of the Czechoslovak government, or its pro-Benes majority, as agents of Moscow, i.e., in terms substantially the same, if not quite as violent, as those which the Nazis use.

It is difficult, at this writing, to say what attitude the British government takes towards Polish policy. One thing is certain: that General Sikorski's government could not exist for a day without British support, just as the "unofficial" newspapers could not be published in defiance of the British paper control.

By contrast one can mention the Czechoslovak government, which in spite of political and class prejudices has proved itself able to come closer in spirit to its heroically battling people at home in the course of the last two years. The most outstanding symbol of this was the admission of a number of leading representatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to the State Council and to official positions connected with it. Despite the known semi-fascist and anti-Semitic inclinations of many Czechoslovak officers, particularly those who before 1938 were connected with the Agrarian or other semi-fascist parties, the internal spirit of the Czechoslovak army has also changed markedly for the better since 1941. Unlike the Polish government, the Czechoslovak authorities don't mind their soldiers reading in their army papers the achievements of the Soviet people.

It is all the more disquieting that the attitude of reactionary circles in England and in the United States toward the Czechoslovak government remains, to say the least, ambiguous. It will be remembered that many months passed before the British government would even recognize the Czechoslovak authorities as a government: and even yet it has not declared unambiguously for the restoration of the 1938 frontiers. Prominent and to some extent influential writers on postwar reconstruction of Europe—ranging from such people as Professor E. H. Carr of the London *Times* and the Political and Economic Planning group to the fanatically anti-Soviet Mr. Voigt, of the *Nineteenth* Century—habitually treat Czechoslovakia's claim to sovereign independence as a matter of light moment, to be swept aside in the interests of some fancied "federal" schemes for "Danubian unity."

WHERE this leads can be seen in the bolder activities of the most rotten relics of pre-1914 Europe—the Hapsburg family—which once ruled the internment camp of nations known as the Austro-Hungarian Empire. [At the Hapsburg "Archduke's" residence in Great Britain considerable scope of propaganda was allowed, mostly in private, but occasionally venturing out into the press.] This was mostly in Mr. Chamberlain's day. Now when the Czechoslovak government has been recognized and particularly when friendly relations with the USSR have been restored, the Hapsburgs are transferring their activity to the United States. For many months the official organ of the Austrian monarchists, the *Voice of Austria*, has been steadily carrying on propaganda to blacken the name of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak government, and to preach the restoration of the Dual Monarchy under the Hapsburgs, in the name of "natural economic unity," "historic associations," and so forth.

Much might be written of the attitude of some elements of British and American officialdom, particularly in the British Broadcasting Corp. and the Foreign Office and State Department, to the rulers of enemy Powers like Italy, Hungary, and Finland. It was most revealing that the Hapsburg *Voice of Austria* should bestow its approval on the following statement by Mr. Elmer Davis, director of the Office of War Information:

"Japan must be defeated, but we hope there are Japanese with whom we can deal. We know there once were friendly elements in Japan, and hope that there still are. Our broadcasts have refrained from any reflection upon the Emperor, who, we believe, has been deceived by his military advisers."

Exactly the same attitude, it may be mentioned in parentheses, is adopted toward Admiral Horthy of Hungary, one of the most infamous modern butchers of his people, by the Hungarian section of the BBC.

BUT, to take one last example from among the Allies, the greatest ambiguity prevails with regard to Yugoslavia. For many months now it has been more and more definitely known that Mikhailovich —War Minister of the Yugoslav government in London—plays little or no part in the armed struggle of the Yugoslav people against the Nazis, and that in fact the greater part of his irregular forces, known as Chetniks, are cooperating with the enemy against the guerrillas. The reason for this is not far to seek: the terrorist rule of the Serbian landowners and businessmen over a country ripe for agrarian change, which existed right up to the spring of 1941, had not had time to be profoundly modified when the Germans invaded the country. This left military men at the head of affairs, even in the anti-Nazi Yugoslav government formed by Dr. Yovanovich, for whom an armed peasantry spells the end of all things. They denounce the Partisan guerrillas as "bandits," and General Mikhailovich's colleagues in the Yugoslav government, both in London and at Washington, persist in attributing all the defeats of the fascist plans in Yugoslavia to him. The attitude of the British and American governments toward the Yugoslav government-in-exile must at best be called peculiar.

ONE thing is necessary to bring into action the growing moral and political reserves of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition mentioned by Stalin, in his speech of Nov. 6, 1942: that the British and the United States governments, by deed as well as word, make it clear that in fighting Nazi Germany they aim to give the European peoples a real and effective chance, not one merely on paper, to restore their freedom. They must be pressed to give the most explicit guarantees that they are not preparing forces for a new Holy Alliance of reaction in Europe following the war.

O. R. QUINN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAS THE COLLEGE DONE ITS JOB?

How it can best cope with wartime problems. Bernard F. Riess, president of the New York College Teachers Union, examines the shortcomings in the present program. Some proposals.

What role shall the colleges and universities play in the war against the Axis? Opinions differ. Because the New York College Teachers Union represents a group most directly concerned, "New Masses" has asked its president, Dr. Bernard F. Riess, assistant professor of psychology at Hunter College, to discuss the problem. We invite comment from our readers.— The Editors.

"IN TOTAL war we are all soldiers, whether in uniform, overalls, or shirt sleeves." These words from President Roosevelt's budget message of January 11 point to the heart of the situation in which the administrators, teachers, and students of American colleges and universities find themselves today. There were, in 1942, 1,756 such institutions employing well over 42,000 men and women on full-time schedules. Although the latest figures on student enrollment are not available, it probably exceeds teacher enrollment by a ratio of one to twenty. Here then are approximately 750,000 men and women eager and willing to become part of the war effort. Yet for many of them the President's words are at present merely excerpts from a speech thoroughly accepted in principle but not as yet translated into effective action.

That the country is becoming increasingly aware of the important role of the colleges and universities in wartime is apparent to all who read the newspapers and the releases of college publicity bureaus. It is apparent, too, in the discussions concerning the educational desirability of the college training programs of the Army and the Navy for those assigned by the armed services to the campuses. Commissioner John Studebaker of the US Office of Education, speaking for this awareness, wrote recently (New York *Times*, January 3): "Educators realize that the long task of winning the peace cannot be undertaken at all unless we first achieve victory upon the field of battle. Consequently schools and colleges must, during 1943, continue to do everything possible to adjust their facilities to the utmost in providing both basic and specialized training of American manpower and womanpower for wartime tasks."

Has this realization led in practice to reorganization and curricular changes in order to assure the full utilization of the resources of the colleges and universities? Examination of college programs reveals a picture of widespread alteration of schedules, courses, and schools, but an alteration substantially unsystematic and unguided by anything approaching a consistent philosophy. On the one hand, some administrators seem to feel their major function is to win the war by saving the liberal arts from "destruction" as a result of the technical demands of the armed forces. On the other hand, some colleges seem to be fulfilling their purposes when they turn their facilities over to the military authorities for the training of military specialists and leave to unaffected institutions the education-as-usual of undrafted civilians. The president of Antioch College, Dr. Algo D. Henderson, writing in the *Times* of January 10, finds the problem of the colleges today differing only in degree from that of the years 1917-18. What is that problem? He expresses it in the following words: "Whether the colleges could have opened in 1918, minus from one-half to two-thirds their enrollments is a question. . . . The Students Army Training Corps was a helpful stopgap to the colleges. It put, at least temporarily, 135,000 men back onto the campuses of about 550 schools. By settling the interrupted contracts promptly and generously, the government helped higher education meet its 1918-19 budgets. . . . The real difference between the situation twenty-five years ago and today lies in the probable length of the crisis."

HERE, baldly presented, is one of the mainsprings of the difficulties in regard to the role of colleges in the emergency. The maintenance of the present status of the staffs motivates the thinking of many administrators to the virtual exclusion of everything else. In essence, such an attitude resembles the trade-unionism-as-usual of the least progressive organizations, the insistence on the maintenance of peacetime economic goals and conditions, rather than the framing of security in the light of the immediate necessities of all-out struggle for victory over fascism.

It is significant that this approach primarily affects the more traditional and less technical subjects. It is in the so-called humanities and liberal arts that we have the heaviest concentration of vested academic interests. The development of scientific warfare has not made immediate demands upon the members of language and arts departments. As a result there has developed a defensive insistence upon the virtues of peacetime liberal arts training as preparation for the peace to come.

As a matter of fact, the colleges are faced with a growing shortage of personnel. The Office of Education reports a decrease of five percent in the number of college and university teachers. Because of the lack of over-all planning within the colleges, this loss has been handled in a most reactionary manner. Over 450 of the colleges reporting to the Office of Education stated that the shortage had been dealt with by increasing the number of hours for the teaching staffs. Only fifty institutions reported pooling of instructional work with other institutions or changing the standards of selection of college teachers. And little effort has been made to utilize the available source of manpower and womanpower in the trained ranks of groups discriminated against most heavily, the Negroes and the Jews.

On the positive side, where changes have been made in courses of study and in utilization of plants and laboratories, we find a tremendous diversification of material. One institution, American University, has established a War College parallel to its regular liberal arts setup but designed for men and women interested in satisfying the requirements of the military services, government, and industry. Other colleges have instituted two-year curricula. At Hunter College, the largest women's col-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lege in the United States, the two-year curriculum is trying to avoid specialization in any field and is attempting merely to give in half the time a bit of all that is taught in four years. Those who desire to equip themselves for war work are forced into evening or summer session courses in addition to the regular two-year curriculum. In most institutions the specific courses added to the curriculum are selected because the institution has become aware of placement possibilities in a narrow field or area. Thus, courses in cryptography, draftsmanship, mapmaking, etc., are added when and if the authorities find out what is needed.

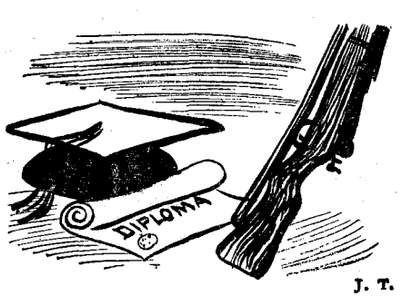
THE two fields in which planned and centrally organized changes have taken place are in the training of military personnel placed on the campuses under the Army and Navy programs and in the college-level Engineering, Science, and Management War Training courses planned by the US Office of Education. The outlines for the Army and Navy educational programs have been both praised and criticized by college educators. The Navy has, in general, come off somewhat better than the Army in this respect, since it has stressed the liberal arts in addition to the necessary technical courses. As NEW MASSES pointed out in an editorial on Dec. 29, 1942, it is encouraging to read that the selection of trainees will "be on a broad and democratic basis without regard to financial resources."

The ESMWT program covers four major fields: engineering, chemistry, physics, and production supervision. Nearly any high school graduate can find some courses which will prepare him or her for specific jobs in war activities. According to *Education for Victory*, the bulletin of the Office of Education, these courses are offered, tuition free, by a large number of cooperating colleges. The enrollment at the time of the latest figures was 438,503 students. In line with the governmental desire to replace men with women, the Office of Education has been trying to eliminate the old and outmoded belief that women lack mechanical aptitude. The jobs are available but thus far women have not used the opportunity offered them to any large extent. In November 1942 the women totaled only sixteen to seventeen percent of those enrolled under ESMWT.

What then are the implications of the situation in our institutions of higher education? As the New York College Teachers Union has pointed out, planning for the colleges must be a part of the general plan for the country as a whole. Unless we know what the needs of industry and the armed forces are in detail, we cannot efficiently allocate teachers and students to those fields of research and training where they will be most needed. We cannot draw up curricula unless we know for what we are training students. We cannot effectively accelerate education if colleges have to postpone the opening of sessions because of fuel shortages. We must cope with a situation in which there is a dearth of teachers in some areas and an oversupply in others. What is the value of retrainer or refresher courses if we do not know how many people are already available or will be needed in various fields?

Only by the establishment of an over-all planning agency can college resources, like those of industry, the professions, and the military be channeled along lines where they will make their maximum contribution to the war effort. The technical and educational needs of the armed forces, production administration, and essential civilian services cannot be met by piecemeal planning, however excellent in themselves the various programs may be. We must have reorganized colleges, colleges geared to the war effort. This is not a task to be solved by the colleges alone. Only a central agency can plan for the maximum utilization of equipment and staffs so that educational and research needs, broadly conceived and surveyed on an over-all basis, will be adequately met.

THE recognition of this need has been encouragingly expressed in several recent pronouncements by prominent administrators. Miss Pearl Bernstein, administrator of the Board of Higher Education in New York City, writing to the *Times* on January 14, finds: "There are two things which . . . would aid in the solution of this problem. The first is a clear definition of necessary war jobs by the Manpower Commission or some other agency, and a statement of the relative need for trained women in these fields. . . . If from the point of view of winning the war the need is greater in some fields than in others, some official agency should indicate their relative importance." President Conant of Harvard, in his annual report for 1942, says: "For more than a year now our students in such subjects as engineering, physics, and chemistry have been asking for orders from the government. To date only in part and in vague outlines has this request been granted. At times the skies seem to lighten; then a fog of contradictory orders once again settles down. . . . We still live in hope of clearer days."



J. T.

Administrators, teachers, and students who are aware of the problems outlined above do not on the whole realize the possibilities of solution offered by the Tolan-Pepper-Kilgore bill for an Office of War Mobilization. Few professional organizations have joined with labor and with the congressional sponsors of this measure to press for its immediate enactment. It is to be hoped that public hearings on the bill will soon be held by the Senate Military Affairs Committee to which it has been shunted from the Committee on Labor and Education. The alert forces in each college community need to be gathered to support the bill and to insist on the inclusion of education in the technical division of the Office of War Mobilization. In this way, the needs of the colleges and their potentialities can be brought before the public and before Congress.

PENDING the adoption of the bill or the setting up of a comparable agency elsewhere, there is much that our institutions of higher education can do to enhance their contributions to the fight for national salvation. The immediate abolition of all Jim Crow and anti-Semitic restrictions and quota devices is a necessary step if we are to have the broad, democratic selection envisaged by the Army and Navy pronouncement. These restrictions must be lifted not only for student bodies but for staffs as well. It is a disgrace to New York City, for example, that there is nowhere in the municipal colleges a Negro on full time, regular appointment. Some progress in this direction has been made, but it is slow and sporadic. American history and sociology courses can be reviewed to ensure adequate treatment for the role of labor, the Negro, and other groups who have received scanty and inaccurate mention. The prejudices against the employment of women in men's colleges likewise prevent qualified individuals from serving in the fields of their best skills.

Education of soldiers for democracy cannot flourish in a dictatorial environment. The democratic education and selection of trainees must be accompanied by democratic control over curriculum and educational policy by the staffs. Within a geographical area, colleges and universities can organize their own cooperative planning and survey bodies, making it possible to centralize opportunities within the area. The complete utilization of laboratory and plant facilities, the shifting of needed personnel, the avoidance of unnecessarily duplicated retraining and refresher courses and other curricular details could be handled efficiently if the sectarian and vested interests of separate institutions could be forgotten and cooperative endeavor behind the President's war policies ensured for the duration.

BERNARD F. RIESS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REPRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A TYPICAL AMERICAN

PRIVATE EDWARD ADAMS had been confined to quarters. Now he sat on his cot and looked the length of the empty barracks and listened to the rain on the roof. He heard a sound outside and walked to the window. It was his company. He twisted to the window's edge in an effort to keep it in view but it swung by and then around the turn and he could not see it. He returned to his cot and the rain seemed suddenly loud in the silence.

He found himself listening and then relaxed. It might be hours before they called him. He knew what to expect and yet he could not believe it. "But he's a good soldier," his own captain had said. "My dear Captain," the officer from Intelligence had replied rather loftily, "we can't have this type of man in combat service. He admits himself he fought Franco in Spain." Ed's C.O. had gestured expressively, more to Ed than to the officer, and then he said, "We'll call you later, Adams."

Ed knew that he should be angry and he could feel it gathering certainly within, so certainly that it could wait. Now he nourished a sardonic amusement that in itself delayed and protected. The officer from Intelligence had addressed him only once. "The trouble with you guys, with guys like you," he had said, "is that you don't love your own country." Ed made a funny little sound and hit his bed with his fist.

He wondered what the guys in the company would think. He'd probably be gone before they returned. He was glad that he had a good record, and yet anybody who had soldiered in Spain was bound to have an edge. For a moment the rain beat louder, then lulled into a softer note. He went to the window again and raised it. A little spray of rain blew in and it was cool and nice. Rivulets ran down the screen and its tiny, multiple squares were surfaced with a changing, irregular mist filling the screen's metallic pores before bursting like minute bubbles. The steady rhythm of the slanting rain was soothing and he gave himself to the sound for he knew it was curative. How often he had stood at home in the barn and heard the rain on the roof and smelled the hot, sweet dustiness of timothy and clover and heard the soft, nubbling crunch of the eating horses, and the shifting stomp of their feet, and how often he had let the combination soothe him into a kind of trance in which he thought without thinking, dreamed without dreaming.

He wondered now what had brought him to his present disgrace. Was it a certain naivete that made him believe? He remembered studying history in the little white schoolhouse near the Eel River back in Indiana. It was a good, exciting story, more generous perhaps than actual life, for it had imbued him with the idea that Americans always fight for democracy wherever it is threatened. If you were an American you fought for the right. It was as simple as that to his boyish mind. As for the right, it was equally simple. Whatever helped the people was right, whatever hurt them was wrong.

HE SMILED a little now as he looked out the barracks' window. When he was twelve or so, he used to have a private game in which he went about saying deep within himself, "I am a typical American," and he had savored the national noun as if it were sweet to his tongue. "My father is a Protestant," he'd say in a silent, boyish sing-song, "my mother is a Catholic, my grandpa married a Jew, and I'm a typical American."

Was that the beginning of the path to the present? Perhaps the main impetus came from his swing around the country when he was eighteen. He'd been mighty lonesome away from home for the first time and he remembered, irrelevantly and clearly, standing beneath a tree in Idaho and the leaves rustling in the night and the stretch of black immensity and the stars above him. And he remembered the glassy heave of the Mississippi below New Orleans and he remembered sitting on a fence in North Dakota in harvest time and watching the red disc that was the sun sink beneath the flatness of the prairie's edge. And he remembered the Maine seacoast, and an evening in St. Louis, and how he used to savor American names. The Monongahela, the Shenandoah, the Susquehanna, the Sioux, the Yazoo, the Wichita, Montana—their sound made pictures in his mind.

It was on that trip that the gap between his history book and what he saw startled him. It was on that trip that he decided for an honorable man there could be no gap between thoughts and actions. If you believed in democracy, you fought for democracy. If you hated fascism, you fought fascism. And that led to Spain and the present.

The rain fell slower now and Ed leaned forward. It was beginning to clear in the west. His folks of the old days, before ever his father was born, had always seemed like names in a book, but as he thought they gained a substance. His great-great grandfather had fought in the American Revolution and he remembered an old story of how some Tories had burned his tavern down. His great-grandfather had lived in southern Pennsylvania and had run a station on the Underground Railway. He had been a preacher and he had been read out of the church because of his convictions. His grandfather had been a colonel of a regiment of Negroes in the Civil War and had, of course, been ostracized by the better elements.

SUDDENLY Ed turned from the window. He straightened and smiled and felt pretty good.

"Maybe I am a typical American," he said and for some reason he laughed as he said it.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PABLO NERUDA

A study of the Chilean poet, "the outstanding figure in the poetic landscape of Latin America today." A story of literary and political growth. By Samuel Putnam.

WHEN Lombardo Toledano and Pablo Neruda appeared as chief guests of honor on a New York stage at the recent "Night of the Americas," it was perhaps the most important single event to take place in connection with our inter-American cultural relations program. For the presence of the famous Latin American labor leader and the great Chilean poet signified a recognition of both labor and culture as vital factors in hemisphere solidarity, with particular reference to our own national security.

It is not the purpose of this article to comment on the evening in question; but readers of NEW MASSES may be interested in hearing a little more about the cultural "angle" as represented in the person of Neruda (in private life Neftali Reyes, Chilean consul in Mexico City who has also seen diplomatic service in Spain, France, Argentina, India, the Dutch East Indies, and elsewhere).

Many people hold that Neruda is the greatest living Spanish language poet since the death of Federico Garcia Lorca and Antonio Machado. He is the outstanding figure in the poetic landscape of Latin America today. If one were asked to name the two foremost poets produced by Spanish America, one might reply: Neruda and the late Ruben Dario. The latter died in 1916, and the former began his career seven years later, in 1923. The two are very different, as far apart as two towering Himalayan peaks; yet like those peaks they have the affinity of altitude. Dario stands for an old and essentially decadent world of poetry, a world, to quote Mr. Dudley Fitts, that was "sensuous, decorative, exquisite," and whose image was the graceful-necked swan. When all is said, this poet's world which overlapped the turn of the century was but a pale reflection of the real and agonizing one that was breathing its last on the battlefields of Europe, even as Dario, its golden-throated canary, was dying of alcoholism in a Nicaraguan hospital.

As the Mexican novelist and essayist Jose Mancisidor has put it, "The idle hands of the bourgeoisie had built for him [Dario] a gilded cage, that he might there go on warbling for the entertainment of those who had imprisoned him, and in place of bird-seed and fresh water, they gave him alcohol as a vocal stimulus."

Thus did the "Swan" die, but not before he had left his indelible stamp on the French and Spanish poetry of his age. In a manner of speaking, he *was* his age, and his first volume, *Azul* (1888), marking the beginning of Latin American *modernismo*, will remain a landmark in literary history. Despite his tragic personal life, reminiscent of our own Poe, and despite the prevailingly decadent quality of his verse (in the technical sense of the word), he was a great poet in that he not only reflected his time, but, especially toward the end, displayed a prescience of things to come—things bigger than and beyond both himself and the impressive body of his work. The "Swan" foresaw not merely his own death, but the life that must come after, be born of it.

It is precisely this new life, this new world that Pablo Neruda represents in Latin American poetry.

THERE are some, however, who would see an interregnum. One of these is Mr. Fitts, who edited the excellent *Anthology of Contemporary Latin American Poetry*, just published by New Directions. As successor to Dario's "Swan," we then have the "sapient Owl" of the Mexican poet, Enrique Gonzalez Martinez. In other words, decadence followed by cerebralism. This is in reality the thesis upon which Mr. Fitts has built his anthology; and it is one which possibly accounts for the few flaws one might pick in an otherwise highly commendable volume. The editors throughout exhibit a certain preference for the "sapient Owl" type of production, and this is reflected even among the translators, who sometimes give a more cerebralized rendering than the original calls for.

Mr. Fitts is none the less intuitively aware that a new and potent force is stirring in Latin American poetry today. "Poetry," he tells us in his preface, "after long absence, has returned to the people," and he observes that "native themes and native rhythms—whether Indian, Afro-Antillean, or Gaucho—have energized it, transforming it into something that is peculiarly American and wholly of our time." All this is true enough. The mistake, as I see it, lies in associating this change with the cerebral or "sapient Owl" school, a school of which we might take an Eliot or a Pound as correspondent in British-American poetry. And this I do not believe *is* true.

Ruben Dario once wrote a poem quite different from most of his work. It was called *"El Aguila"* (The Eagle), and was addressed to the United States of America. While marred by a certain confusion of political thinking, it contains one of those presciences of which I have spoken; it shows that the poet was conscious of a new social-political force that lay beyond the span of his days and the scope of his art, even if he was not able to name it—the people—the people of this Western Hemisphere and of the earth. The graceful Swan foresaw the mighty Eagle; and the latter bird now spreads his wings in the new poetry of this new and struggling world. It is the Eagle that we meet in the poems of Pablo Neruda.

Meanwhile, the Owl had had his day—or should we say his night, since his lucubrations were not light-bringing on the whole. From the early years of the century (Gonzalez Martinez' first book was published in 1903) he had witnessed the death of decadence, and was highly conscious of his own birth, but he failed to observe the eaglet cradled in his nest. For it was very

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the Death of Karl Marx

"His name will endure through the ages, and so will his work."
Frederick Engels.

SPECIAL 20% DISCOUNT SALE ON ALL MARXIST BOOKS STARTS MAR. 12. ENDS MAR. 26.

- **KARL MARX, Selected Works** in two volumes — Reg. $4.00 **Sale $3.19**
- **CAPITAL, Vol. I, Karl Marx** (International Edition) — Reg. $2.50 **Sale $1.98**
- **HANDBOO OF MARXISM** Edited by Emile Burns — Reg. $1.75 **Sale $1.39**
- **DIALECTICS OF NATURE** Frederick Engels — Reg. $2.50 **Sale $1.98**
- **MARX-ENGELS-MARXISM** V. I. Lenin — Reg. $1.25 **Sale $.98**
- **POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY** Karl Marx — Reg. $1.25 **Sale $.98**

Send for Complete List

WORKERS BOOK SHOP
50 East 13th Stret
New York City
"We Pay the Postage"

HERE'S THE AMMUNITION

to: The Editors, NEW MASSES
104 East 9th Street, New York, N. Y.

$..... is enclosed as my initial contribution.

IN ADDITION, I want to pledge $..... so that NEW MASSES can fully cover its planned budget. (Please indicate the date or dates of your pledged donation.)

My pledge dates are .....

NAME .....

STREET & NUMBER .....

CITY .....

STATE .....

much under the influence of the cerebrating school, along with pronounced stigmata of symbolism and imagism, that Pablo Neruda began writing, with his *Crepusculario* ("Twilight Book") in 1923, one year after the publication of Eliot's *Wasteland*.

Crepusculario was followed one year later by *Veinte Poemas de Amor y Una Cancion Desesperada* (Twenty Love Poems and a Despairing Song). These two volumes represent what the poet calls his "formal period" (1923-25). It was formal in the sense that the *Wasteland* is a formalization of despair in the modern world, where always there is a Mrs. Porter to wash her feet in soda water. Neruda's poetry, however, lacked the essential aridity —what the French would call the *secheresse*—of Eliot's verse. It was far from being so tight and constipated. It was much more lyrical and intense.

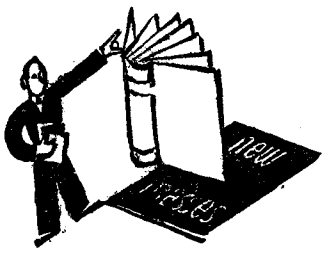
This period was followed by an "informal" one (the poet's terminology still), from 1925-36 or down to the outbreak of the Spanish war. Here the reader may be referred to the two volumes of *Residencia en la Tierra* (Residence on the Earth), published in 1931 and 1935, and to *El Hondero Entusiasta*. (The Enthusiastic Slinger), of 1933. This was distinctly a period of loosening up in form, and expansion of theme and content. Neruda had not, like Eliot, taken refuge from the desert by climbing a cactus tree.

But one thing he had done. He had, unwittingly and unwillingly, founded a school of verse. *"Nerudismo"* by this time was running riot, and the poet was more than a little dismayed by it all. Perhaps this accounts for his complete silence from 1935 to 1937.

THEN came Spain. Neruda was there at the time as a Chilean diplomatic representative. Together with Ilya Ehrenbourg, his good friend, he watched the Nazis bomb the city of Almeria, slaughter the men, women, and children. In 1937, one year after the Franco rebellion started, the poet broke his silence. He did so with a volume entitled *Espana en el Corazon* (Spain in the Heart). It was a different kind of book from any he had published before. The soldiers of the Spanish people's army loved it; they set it in type, by hand, at the front lines. "A Hymn to the Glories of the People in War" was the book's subtitle. And so began Pablo Neruda's third period, which he calls his "political" one.

What had happened to him? Suppose we let him describe it, as he did in an interview with Maurice Halperin, in Mexico City, a couple of years ago:

"I saw the heroism and the innate decency of the common people assert themselves under the most trying circumstances. My respect for the people, always unconscious in my thinking and feeling, now became conscious. Since then I have been convinced that it is the poet's duty to take his



one year of
NEW MASSES

(Reduction made from subscription rate (Regularly $5 a year), not book list price.)

plus

HOSTAGES
by
STEFAN HEYM
List Price $2.50
Combination Offer $6.50

or

	Our Gift Combination Price	You Save
THOMAS PAINE, HIS BASIC WRITINGS Complete—"Common Sense" "Rights of Man," "Age of Reason," 624 Pages.	$6.00	$1.00
VICTORY—AND AFTER by EARL BROWDER The outstanding book of and on the war.	$5.00	
BRITAIN AND THE WORLD FRONT by R. PALME DUTT A new book by England's outstanding Marxist.	$6.00	$1.00
WE'RE IN THIS WITH RUSSIA by WALLACE CARROL	$6.50	.50
LAST TRAIN FROM BERLIN by HOWARD K. SMITH	$6.75	$1.00
TELEGRAM FROM HEAVEN by ARNOLD MANOFF	$6.50	$1.00
THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA by the WEBBS	$6.00	.50
THE GREAT OFFENSIVE by MAX WERNER	$6.75	$1.25
THE MEN BEHIND THE WAR by JOHANNES STEEL	$7.00	$1.50

NEW MASSES, 104 East 9th St., New York, N. Y.
Gentlemen:
I wish to take advantage of your combination offer.
Enclosed find $.....
The book I desire is.....
Please send it to:
Name .....
Address .....
City .....
State .....
The one-year subscription (or renewal) to NEW MASSES you may send to:
Name .....
Address .....
City .....
State .....
Add $1 for Canadian postage
3-16-43

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stand along with the people in their struggle to transform society, betrayed into chaos by its rulers, into an orderly existence based upon political, social, and economic democracy."

In this manner Pablo Neruda became the true people's poet that he is today. Not that he has undergone a complete metamorphosis of form; that would be impossible, artificial, and insincere; no honest writer would attempt it. "Once my style has developed into maturity," he says, "it is hard for me to change." But is there any need for change? "Personally, I should like to see the people's level of comprehension raised so that they can penetrate with the poet into all the richness of the modern world."

This, I believe, is the truth about the Pablo Neruda of today. And I believe it is definitely not true to say, as H. R. Hays does in his note on Neruda in the Fitts anthology, that he is "as much the poet of a decaying social system as is T. S. Eliot; he sees life as a romantic and grotesque nightmare. The charnel grimness which runs through his poems . . .", etc. This is to overlook the daily miracle of growth—of growth or, as with Pound and Eliot, retrogression. Morally, politically, or esthetically, there is no standing still for the poet any more than there is for anyone else in this world of ours that is rushing onward. Neruda lost no time in shaking the dust of the desert from his feet. Eliot is still scratching himself with a cactus, which he mistakes for a hair-shirt.

And there are compensations for the poet of the people.

"I feel very humble in this task," says Neruda. "To write for the people is too great an ambition. Antonio Machado put it well when he said that only two men in all history have succeeded in writing for the masses: Shakespeare and Cervantes."

The Eagle has been born—out of the people's struggle in blood-drenched Spain—and as a result, Latin America has a poet of the first rank, the greatest perhaps that she has ever had. SAMUEL PUTNAM.

19th Century McCormick

THE MAN WHO MADE NEWS: JAMES GORDON BENNETT, *by Oliver Carlson. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $3.50.*

HORACE GREELEY properly evaluated what James Gordon Bennett had done to and for American journalism when Greeley wrote Bennett's obituary in June 1872: "It was as a collector of news that Bennett shone conspicuously. . . . He developed the capacities of journalism in a most wonderful manner, but he did it by degrading its character. He made the newspaper powerful, but he made it odious. . . ." It is an index to the merits of Oliver Carlson's biography that he thoroughly prepares you for such a judgment.

PRIVATE ART SALE
and
NM HOUSEWARMING

Because it was impossible to display the hundreds of many fine contributions from America's leading artists at the regular auction held at the ACA Gallery, it has been decided to hold a private sale of all unsold works.

Many of America's leading artists will be represented in the sale. A partial list includes Max Weber, Raphael Soyer, Nikolai Cikovsky, David Burliuk, Margaret Zorach, Elizabeth Olds, Harry Gotlieb, Art Young, Marion Greenwood, Harriton, Sorriano, F. Kleinholz, Gropper, Alex Dobkin, Ben Kopman, Chaim Gross, Mervin Jules, and others too numerous to mention.

This sale will be held at the new offices of *New Masses* in conjunction with the official housewarming.

Saturday, March 13
2 P. M.

at 104 East 9th Street

★

Come and Bring Your Friends

No Admission **Refreshments**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAN WE WIN THE WAR IN 1943?

A SYMPOSIUM BY THE EDITORS OF NEW MASSES

JOSEPH NORTH—EDITOR IN CHIEF
JOHN STUART—FOREIGN EDITOR
BARBARA GILES—MANAGING EDITOR

FRIDAY EVENING

MARCH..12th

8:30 P.M.

The BILTMORE

2230 CHURCH AVE.
Cor. Flatbush Ave.

BROOKLYN

Admission 35 cents

★

AUSPICES OF FLATBUSH AND PARKSIDE COMMUNIST CLUBS

PROMPT PRESS

PRINTERS

113 FOURTH AVE., N. Y.

GRAMERCY 7-8582

UNION SHOP

From its beginnings in May 1835 to the time when he turned it over, shortly before his death, to his son of the same name, James Gordon Bennett made the New York *Herald* the most "universally denounced," notorious, and widely read paper in the world. Bennett always insisted that his great circulation was due to the fact that "my paper is first of all a *news* paper, not a journal of opinion." Making news-gathering a major policy, he combined it with a constantly expanding concept of the nature of news. Among the "firsts" that Carlson ascribed to Bennett are: the use of light, humorous essays; Washington correspondence; extensive, sensational coverage of a murder trial; Wall Street stock reports; interviews; wood-cut illustrations; war maps; news summaries on the front page; sport news; society news, and news of sermons and religious conventions; and foreign correspondents. Carlson says he was "the greatest single generator of journalistic progress in this country."

The use to which he put his enterprise is another matter. If he made the newspaper "odious," it was not only because he was, as Carlson maintains, "the real father of yellow journalism," or because he was much given to invective and personal abuse that led to many a caning and beating by outraged victims. His social and political opinions reveal the temper of the man who, at twenty-five, came from Scotland to this country in search of freedom and prosperity.

When Louis Kossuth arrived in America, every paper in the land as well as our people and Congress itself greeted him, but Bennett's *Herald* attacked him, and helped greatly to raise "a cloud of rumors, misapprehenson, and ill feeling." When the McKenzie-Papineau rebellion broke out in Canada, Bennett opposed it. (Carlson does not mention this. Nor does he mention that Bennett opposed Daniel O'Connell's Irish Repeal movement because O'Connell denounced southern slavery.) Bennett laughed at the women's rights movement of the 1850's and always ridiculed union organizers.

Most important, however, is the fact that Bennett was a consistent supporter of the South and slavery and secession, and that he backed the Fugitive Slave Bill and Buchanan's pro-slavery appeasement. Abolitionists he hated and denounced as "socialists, Sabbath breakers, and anarchists." As the irrepressible conflict grew to its climax, he raised the cry, "Let the South secede!" Then he proposed that, on southern conditions, the North and South maintain a Union, but that New England secede. Shortly thereafter he was advocating that the North and South separate, the North annexing Canada and the South taking Cuba, all the islands in the Caribbean, and Mexico.

Lincoln he fought throughout most of his career as "another Abolitionist." When

THE UNIQUE VIEWPOINT
ON THE AIR

"WORDS ARE BULLETS"

NEW MASSES RADIO ANALYSIS

EVERY SUNDAY AT 12:45 P. M.

WQXR - 1560
ON THE DIAL

"Our special role is to deepen the understanding of the masses and to influence their actions on all *fundamental issues connected with the winning of the war and thus gradually to deepen the thinking and strengthen the actions of the people, and especially the workers, on a national 'win-the-war' program."*

John Williamson in *The Communist*

THE COMMUNIST

March Contents

On the Victory of Stalingrad.
Greetings to the Red Army, and Its Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Joseph Stalin
Communist Party, U.S.A.
Hitler's Secret Weapon—the Bogey of Communism ..... *Earl Browder*
The Browder-Welles Correspondence.
Notes on the Political Situation in North Africa ..... *Eugene Dennis*
Marx and National Wars..... *V. J. Jerome*
The Great Battle of Stalingrad.
Mikhail Bragin
Some Problems of Economic Stabilization
Gil Green
Marx on the Southern Bourbons
Rob Fowler Hall
The Battle for a Democratic Win-the-War Tax Program ..... *Jean Francis*
Some Lessons of the "Fateful Decade"
James S. Allen
The Nazi "Peace" Offensive..... *Hans Berger*
What About Yugoslavia?..... *Albert Popovich*
Ireland's Way Forward
Resolution of the Communist Party of Ireland

Single copies 20c
Subscription $2.00

On Sale at All Workers and Progressive Bookshops and Literature Centers

Workers Library Publishers
P. O. ox 148, Station D (832 Broadway), New York, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lincoln was first elected, Bennett proposed that he save the Union by refusing to take office. The alternative was that the new President would "totter into a dishonored grave, driven there perhaps by the hands of an assassin. . . ." Shortly before the South attacked Fort Sumter, Bennett "proposed vigilante action to depose the administration."

On April 12, reporting firing on Fort Sumter, the *Herald* published a picture of the Confederate Flag on the front page. Small wonder that an aroused crowd stormed the offices of the *Herald* and was quieted only when Bennett hurriedly obtained and displayed the Stars and Stripes. The *Herald* was the most widely read American paper in Europe and the administration was kept busy trying to counter its influence. When the Emancipation Proclamation was published, Bennett wrote: "As a war measure it is unnecessary, unwise, illtimed, impracticable, outside the Constitution, and full of mischief." After the war, naturally, Bennett supported Tennessee Johnson and fought Thaddeus Stevens and the radical, "black" Republicans.

Carlson assures us that Bennett "never became a defeatist." Bennett in fact called the open defeatists "the copperhead press." But he called the abolitionist *Times*, *Tribune*, and *Evening Post* "the niggerhead press." And these in turn considered Bennett a more dangerous enemy than the openly defeatist press.

All of this and more is in Carlson's biography, but the reader will often note that Carlson seems to be apologizing for some of Bennett's most reactionary and dangerous views. The author's omissions (there are others beside those I've mentioned) seem calculated to spare his subject. Nevertheless, this volume is a much more elaborate and well-documented biography than Don C. Seitz' book on the Bennetts. It is also superior in these respects to Carlson's earlier studies of Hearst (written with E. S. Bates) and of Arthur Brisbane. One of the greatest values of the book is the number of long and often complete quotations from the not easily accessible columns of the *Herald*. Especially noteworthy in this connection are the many pages given to a reproduction of Bennett's extensive coverage of the John Brown raid on Harper's Ferry and its aftermath.

One premise underlying Carlson's approach cannot go unchallenged. It is that by eschewing direct political partisanship, Bennett introduced "straight," "objective," "factual" reporting without "opinion" except in the editorial pages. The book is virtually a monumental refutation of that thesis. More is obviously required of truthful, objective journalism than that it be non-partisan in the sense that it be without direct party connections; in fact the world knows today of political parties that insist on truthful, objective journalism.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES.

The Event No One Can Afford to Miss

NEW MASSES

Sponsors a

DEBATE

"Is Communism a Menace?"

GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

Author, Columnist of New York Sun

VS.

EARL BROWDER

General Secretary Communist Party U.S.A.

★

Sunday Afternoon, March 21
2:30

★

Manhattan Center

34th Street and Eighth Avenue

★

Tickets: $1.65, $1.10, $.83, $.55

On Sale at'

Workers Bookshop, 50 East 13th St.; Bookfair, 133 West 44th St.; New Masses, 104 East 9th St.; Manhattan Center, 34th St. and 8th Ave. or Call GRamercy 3-5146

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SIGHTS and SOUNDS

PHILHARMONIC DISCORD

Events leading up to the controversy in New York's leading symphony orchestra. Some problems of conductors and orchestra men. Why fourteen dismissed musicians should be reinstated.

THE topic of greatest interest in musical circles for the past several weeks has been the controversy resulting from the dismissal of fourteen members of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. It has made "hot copy" for the press and has been exploited on an even greater scale than the difficulties between Melchior and Leinsdorf when the latter took over the direction of the German operas at the Metropolitan two years ago. The public interest is understandable. Here is a fine orchestra which has made definite contributions to wartime morale; its new director, Dr. Artur Rodzinski, has distinguished himself in the world of music and has made his own contributions toward victory. What, then, is the background of the present controversy?

This season marked the 100th anniversary of the orchestra's existence. Since John Barbirolli retired last year as musical director, it was decided that the anniversary would be observed by inviting some of the foremost conductors in the country to share the season. However, the results have not been so successful musically in the opinion of some New York critics, and the blame has been put chiefly on indifferent or poor playing by members of the orchestra. This year the management decided that a single musical director for the coming season was preferable, and Dr. Rodzinski was chosen for the post. It was upon his advice, according to Marshall Field, head of the Board of Trustees, that the fourteen men were dismissed.

FIRST of all, I think it is unfair to blame the orchestra for less than outstanding performances during the past year. It is substantially the same orchestra that gave such marvelous performances under Mr. Toscanini's direction a few years ago and was acclaimed by the same men who now criticize it so sharply.

Every conductor has his own individual technique in seeking results from an orchestra. Some use a baton, others do not. Some conductors, like Toscanini and Reiner, have a very clear technique; others, like Leopold Stokowski, have a more personal directing technique which, though very effective, requires more adjustment on the orchestra's part. To illustrate—take the last chord in the slow movement of the Second, Third, or Fourth Symphonies of Brahms. Leopold Stokowski demands that the orchestra begin at the precise bottom of his beat; Eugene Ormandy, conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra, has the chord begin slightly after the beat; Dr. Koussevitsky of the Boston Symphony has the orchestra begin even later. One of the viola players in the Boston Symphony says that the men begin to play the chord not at the bottom of the beat but when the baton is halfway up again—"At Koussevitsky's second vest button."

To ask an orchestra of over 100 men to change directors constantly during a season and still give topnotch performances is to demand the impossible. Yet under those conditions the New York Philharmonic has given a consistently high level of performances.

In addition to the constant change of conductors, the fact that each conductor, quite understandably, wished to play his best and biggest numbers meant exhausting, yet inadequate, rehearsals. The men of the orchestra point out that for a performance of Shostakovich's Sixth Symphony under Fritz Reiner, they had two and one-half hours' rehearsal! Nor is it fair of the critics to compare the Philharmonic unfavorably with the Boston and Philadelphia Orchestras' concerts in New York. It should be understood that the few concerts given by these out-of-town orchestras are occasions for both the conductor and the musicians to be on their mettle. The concerts by the Philadelphia Orchestra in New York, for example, have been rehearsed for a week, with two performances given in Philadelphia before the New York appearance.

In taking over the leadership of the Philharmonic, Dr. Rodzinski was given a free hand in the matter of personnel. When Mr. Field announced the dismissals at a press conference, he said that the wholesale firing had been recommended by Dr. Rodzinski "for the good of the orchestra" and "to assure a better balance of the various sections." Mr. Field gave the press the names of the men dismissed—which was not only embarrassing and unjust, since no provision was made for appeal, but actually placed these men's careers and livelihoods in jeopardy. It was this unethical action on the part of Mr. Field which brought forth a protest from the men of the orchestra and a tremendous wave of public support.

LET us examine a little more closely the reasons given for the dismissals. To tell any musician that the balance of the Philharmonic's sections will be improved by the dismissals is to talk nonsense. A "section" of the orchestra means the strings, the brasses, or the woodwinds. It could mean the violins, the flutes, or the French horns, etc. A conductor's job is to "balance" the orchestra at rehearsals, a routine task. Can anyone conceivably say the first violins would "balance" better because of a concertmaster other than Mr. Piastro? Or would the violas be better balanced because a musician who sits at the fifth stand of violas is replaced? That reason for dismissals cannot possibly stand up under serious examination. The statement that it was for the good of the orchestra can then be reduced to two simple propositions: (1) that the musicians slated for dismissal are incompetent or, (2) that there are reasons other than those having to do with the music.

The men of the orchestra claim that it is not for musical reasons. They say that the management is trying to shift to them the blame for adverse criticism of the concerts. They also point out that the chairman of the Orchestra Committee, Calman Fleisig, who sits at the fifth stand of violas, and whom the writer knows to be a fine viola

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

player, could not possibly be picked out of ten viola players as incompetent in the brief time that Dr. Rodzinski has conducted the orchestra. They maintain that the discharge of Mr. Fleisig is an attempt to break up the committee and therefore is an attack on the orchestra men.

The men agree that a conductor should have the right to improve the quality of the orchestra—but that he should not have unrestricted authority to dismiss. They believe a man who has played in the orchestra for years has a cultural stake in the orchestra—that he has a right to his position and that if he begins to impede the improvement of the orchestra, some kind of impartial committee should be consulted and its opinion together with the conductor's views should be the deciding factor. They point to the success of such "dismissal" committees in the Philadelphia and Boston Orchestras. Another reason for such a committee is that a conductor's musical taste is not always consistent. The orchestra men point to Rudy Puletz, who was first horn with Dr. Rodzinski in Cleveland and who resigned to take over the much more important solo position in the Philharmonic, only to be dismissed now by Dr. Rodzinski, and the men contrast this incident with the case of the first trombonist, who was dismissed by Dr. Rodzinski when he began his duties in Cleveland, only to be sought now by Dr. Rodzinski to take the more important post of first trombone with the Philharmonic!

Certainly these are weighty arguments for the need of some form of impartial dismissal machinery. However, since the names of the dismissed members were publicly announced, the orchestra is unanimous in demanding that all these men be reinstated for the following year to help alleviate their present unfair situation, and that at the end of the following season Dr. Rodzinski make his recommendations for dismissals and new members in private, when machinery will have been set up to handle the cases and guarantee a "fair hearing to the dismissed men."

The campaign of the men in the orchestra is receiving support from the broadest sections of the people. Other symphonies are backing them. Dr. Rodzinski's orchestra in Cleveland declares that "The members of the Cleveland Orchestra are fully aware of the significance of your controversy" and "This support we offer to you in a fraternal spirit." From the splendid Philadelphia Orchestra men came a telegram reading in part, "The members of the Philadelphia Orchestra are completely in sympathy with the members of the Philharmonic . . . are wholeheartedly supporting any action to be taken by your committee. . . ."

Patrons of the Philharmonic are writing to Marshall Field and Arthur Judson, asking for the reinstatement of the men, and there is good reason to believe that the matter will be settled equitably. The men are also asking for a thirty-week season instead of the proposed twenty-four weeks. To curtail the season during this crucial war period would be most unfortunate; it is to be hoped that the management, the orchestra, and their union, Local 802, will make every effort to ensure a thirty-week season.

DR. RODZINSKI perhaps does not know about, or is not entirely familiar with, dismissal committee machinery. He has never been asked to work in this manner and it should be assumed that he is entirely opposed to it. He could not have come to the Philharmonic, which has no dismissal machinery, and say, "I should like to make some replacements—would you set up a committee to cooperate with me?" It should be granted that Dr. Rodzinski wants to build as fine an orchestra as he can and that he knows the good will of the men must be attained to get results. If a dismissal committee will help, he should welcome the proposal.

The campaign for more security in symphony orchestras is becoming nationwide. That is a good thing and a logical development in this people's war. The Philharmonic is one of our most prized cultural possessions. Its effective functioning is necessary for morale. I feel confident that the patriotism of all parties to the dispute will bring about an early and satisfactory settlement.

CARL E. LACKLAND.

Mr. Chadband's Ghost

Piety and Pollyannas . . . . Further reactions to "Counterattack."

CHARLES DICKENS, a long time ago, created the immortal Mr. Chadband. This mountain of greasy benevolence, of simpering piety, had a habit of laying his large hand on the defenseless heads of children, rolling up his eyes, and oozing, "Oh, be joyful!" Another salient characteristic was the lush rhythm of his conversation. He marveled coyly at the wonders of life in phrases much admired by listeners with strong stomachs and weak heads. He was, in short, a Horror; and I am glad that Dickens gave him his comeuppance.

It is hard not to believe that Mr. Chadband wrote *The Human Comedy*. Surely it is his ineffable ghost that speaks its peculiarly unctuous commentary; surely it is he who blurs the background into an illuminated haze, while Mickey Rooney is hearing voices from heaven. William Saroyan, with his well known humility, would no doubt be the first to admit that he had only served as an earthly typewriter for the illustrious Chadband in the celestial sphere.

In smooth, oily cadences, the characters of *The Human Comedy* elaborate the

NEW MASSES

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

50c a line. Payable in advance. Min. charge $1.50.
Approx. 7 words to a line. Deadline Fri., 4 p.m.

AGENTS WANTED

AGENTS WANTED to get subscriptions for **NEW MASSES.** Substantial commissions paid and leads given. For details communicate with Lillian Adler, Circulation Manager. **NEW MASSES,** 104 E. 9th St., N. Y. C.

CHILDREN BOARDED

A FEW CHILDREN FROM 2½-10 to live all year round in quiet, comfortable country home. Progressive playgroup on premises. Excellent public school in village. Understanding affectionate care. Housemother up-to-date nutritionist. Excellent references. Moderate prices. Write **NORA ZHITLOWSKY,** Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y., or phone Croton 469.

TO RENT—UNFURNISHED

Unfurnished Studio Room—separate dressing room, with sink, fireplace, semi-private bath. **Off Fifth Avenue** in the nineties, **reasonable.** Call ATwater 9-7207.

ROOM WANTED

GENTLEMAN wants room in midtown, Village or Chelsea area. Or will share apartment. Address box 1815, New Masses, giving phone number.

APARTMENT TO SUB-LET

Modern, excelelntly furnished apartment, 3 rooms and bath, in Brooklyn Heights section. Apply Box 1816, New Masses, 104 East 9th Street, New York.

TRUNK WANTED

Small, well made wardrobe trunk, in good condition. Apply Box 1816, New Masses, 104 E, 9th St., New York.

GYMNASIUM

Get in shape. Reduce—build up—relax. Trial visit $2.00 includes Swedish massage, handball, vapor baths, individual exercises, posture correction, electric horse, bicycles, etc. Men, women, separate days. **GOODWIN'S GYM,** 157 Broadway. WIsconsin 7-8250.

INSURANCE

PAUL CROSBIE—Insurance of every kind, whatever your needs — **FREQUENT SAVINGS,** 799 Broadway.

MANUSCRIPT TYPING

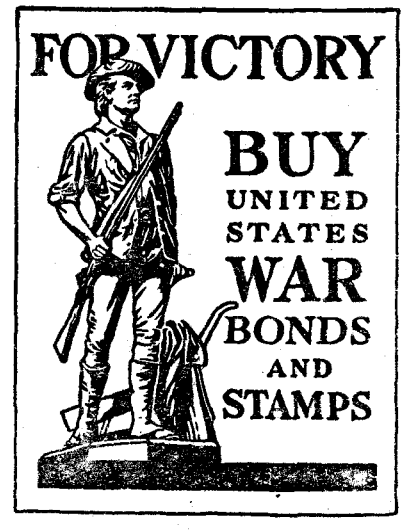
Manuscript neatly and efficiently typed. Union rates. Apply Box 1809, New Masses, 104 East 9th St., N.Y.C.

WANTED FOR NEW MASSES

Issues from January and February 1942 wanted to complete our files. Also December 9, 1941.

FURNITURE NEEDED

For rest room in our new quarters a day bed, table, mirror and chair. Donations will be much appreciated. Write or phone New Masses.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOTEL ALLABEN
THE HOUSE OF WINTER ACTIVITY
501 MONMOUTH AVE., LAKEWOOD, N. J.
MODERATE RATES
PHONE LAKEWOOD 819 OR 1222
JACK SCHWARTZ DIRECTOR

Your Vacation Point
Vitality for Victory . . . aided by Plum Point's invigorating winter sports and soothing, restful indoor activities. Come for a week or a week-end.
Attractive Rates
PLUM POINT
"Year-Round Vacation Resort"
New Windsor, N.Y. Tel: Newburgh 4270

SKIING, SKATING, 40 MILES FROM NEW YORK CENTRAL VALLEY N. Y.
Birdland
Formerly Lewisohn's Estate OPEN ALL YEAR
225-acre estate. Ice skating on private lake. Skiing, Bicycles, Ping-pong, Games, recordings, library, dancing. Open Fireplaces. Exceptional company. Excellent cuisine. Every comfort. Incomparable surroundings. Tel.: Highland Mills 7895.
Your Hostess: Fannie Goldberg

OPEN ALL YEAR ROUND
FOR WINTER SPORTS
Ice Skating
Tobagganing
Sleighing
Ping Pong
Recordings
Swing Band
Folk Dancing
Rates: $25 per week; $5 per day
THE BEST IN FOOD AND FUN FOR ALL
N. Y. Central R. R. to Beacon, N. Y. Taxis meet all trains. Telephone Beacon 731.
CAMP BEACON
Beacon, N.Y.
Office: 2700 Bronx Pk. E., N. Y. OLin. 5-6900

RUSSIAN SKAZKA
• Superlative Russian and American Cuisine
• Soviet-American Recordings
DINNER, 75c
Late Snacks 25c Beer & Wine
17 Barrow Street
IRT to Christopher Street
Ind. Subway to W. 4th Street

5TH BIG WEEK
Siege of Leningrad
The victorious epic of a great city under siege
Narration by
EDWARD MURROW
European Representative for C.B.S.
Continuous from 9 A.M.
28c to 1 P.M. Wednesdays
STANLEY THEA. 7th Ave. bet. 41-42 Sts. WI. 7-9686

thesis that prayer and a touch of Pollyanna are what makes the world go round. It is not new, this comfortable delusion; when Constantinople fell, its people trusted to an army of angel defenders, and when Machen wrote *The Bowmen of Mons* as pure fiction, during the first world war, publications by the dozen reprinted his tale of angelic archers as fact. In every crisis there is no lack of escapists with liquefying mush for brains to suggest that if we only go on smiling and praying we can omit the thinking and working. *The Human Comedy*, however, exaggerates the smile into a smirk. On the surface it is a sympathetic story of the Macauley family, living in a sugar-candy town in a Chamber-of-Commerce California. Such quaint people! the adults so delightfully childlike! the children so ecstatically imbecile! the town drunk so Poetic! It is perhaps unfair to give Mr. Chadband the entire credit for this film; he may have collaborated with that other great philosopher imagined by Voltaire—the Dr. Pangloss who insisted everything was for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

But under the coyness there is something neither Chadband nor Pangloss—a contempt for people, masquerading as love. The children go around incredibly wide-eyed, marveling at everything—and making childish blunder after childish blunder. Some of these are brilliantly observed and recorded, as when a five-year-old sings half a line of "My Old Kentucky Home," over and over. And such tricks of children are touching and amusing enough in their way. But Mr. Saroyan likes them too much. It is the weakness, the foolishness, the uncertainty of a child that he emphasizes, reassuring himself of his own strength in the process. This masked contempt is far more obvious in the case of the film's adults. Again it is irresponsibility, helplessness, and general wackiness which predominate. Mr. Saroyan speaks of love for Swedes, Russians, Armenians, Greeks—but he shows them as quaint costumed figures dancing around a maypole in the park, to whom the commentary delivers a verbal pat on the head. He talks of his admiration for our own soldiers—and proceeds to give them dialogue couched in the pious snuffle of a WCTU meeting. The men fighting in Africa and the Pacific would have shorter and crisper words for this sort of thing than I am using.

This covert belittling of the human race, done much in the spirit of a neurotic woman who dresses her adolescent children in infantile clothes, enables Saroyan to maintain his attitude of indulgent superiority. But he is buying his superiority rather too dear. For it he has sacrificed a very real talent for recording human behavior; for it he exchanges virility and common sense. A town populated entirely by Pollyannas of all ages is poor stuff on which to waste Mr. Saroyan's undoubted ear for human speech, let alone a lot of expensive cellulose and an able-bodied cast.

The cast is rather undistinguished, fortunately or unfortunately. Fay Bainter and Frank Morgan are submerged in marshmallow, the small boys are the quaintly funny-looking children which the screen sometimes offers as contrast to its golden-haired dolls, and Mickey Rooney is just about what the script deserves. It takes genius of a sort to give the Saroyan slime its proper enunciation, and Master Rooney certainly has it.

"COUNTERATTACK" (which, thank Heaven, did *not* close before I had a chance to see it) is as alive and exciting to watch as a fire. Whether or not it is a great play can be settled later; certainly it is an emotional experience that sends you home with the blood singing in your veins. Dramatic as the war itself is dramatic, it is something very different from the manufactured passion of the usual Broadway trifle-in-three-acts. So much cannot be questioned.

People ask, therefore, why so many of the newspaper critics did question it. How is it humanly possible for a man to watch Carnovsky play the soldier Kulkov and remain unmoved? The answer, I think, is that those critics were not psychologically free to judge. They were so bound by the basic assumptions of their lives that they could no more appreciate *Counterattack* than a southern lynch-law poll tax senator could appreciate the singing of Paul Robeson. In realizing the full significance of Robeson's greatness, Senator Pellagra would have to realize that his own life was founded on lies and injustice. He saves his self-esteem at the expense of his judgment.

Now *Counterattack*, as a play, reduces our contemporary "good theater" to the clockwork it is. Some attempt, no doubt, has been made to adapt it to Broadway standards; there are moments of suspense about exploding grenades and so on which, while not irrelevant, supply a rougher sort of excitement than the real excitement of the theme. For the most part, however, *Counterattack* substitutes, for the crude clash of bodies and lusts to which our stage is accustomed, the far more vital conflict of character and thought which few besides Shaw have been able to put on the English-speaking stage in the last fifty years. And for fifty years—until the acclamations of the people drowned them out—the critics said that Shaw was clever but not a playwright, not good theater!

The conflict in *Counterattack*, sometimes put into words but always implicit in every action of the characters, is the conflict between socialist man and the wolf-man of that kind of "rugged individualism" we call fascism. (For it is the essential paradox of economic individualism that, carried to its ultimate stage, it becomes the fascist denial of individual rights.) The two

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Red Army men, magnificently embodied by Carnovsky and Sam Wanamaker, are completely human—man as he can be, responsible, adult, and profoundly civilized. They are neither prigs nor supermen; they poke fun at themselves, they have their moments of weakness and uncertainty. But they realize human potentialities for good just as surely as the Nazi scavengers and child-murderers have realized man's potentialities for evil.

THE play's Nazis are no less human; and this is a very significant triumph, especially when one considers the leering caricatures which too often represent Nazis on our stage and screen. In the German soldiers of *Counterattack* one can recognize familiar soldier-types of any army—the humorous grouch, the uncertain boy, the model soldier who performs like a marionette in hopes of promotion. These are universal; but Nazism has altered them subtly, as soot in the air alters the sun's color. The humorous grouch develops into a lustful animal, the model soldier murders children to send their clothes home to his own. Taught to be wolves to the enemy, they are wolves to each other at the slightest provocation, and completely fail to understand decent human behavior. Their officer mingles whining deceitfulness with a distorted pride. One of his men, an ex-miner, goes over to the Russians; and when everything depends upon wheedling his man back to the Nazis, the German officer is unable to refrain from snarling at him for lack of respect to his superior.

The Red Army men have learned to understand Nazism intellectually, but it is still an emotional shock to them; while the Nazis cannot understand socialism at all. This inability they seem to share with the critics we have mentioned, to whom admitting that *Counterattack* was a magnificent play subconsciously meant admitting that socialism worked, and consequently couldn't be done!

It is significant that *Counterattack* compels discussion; one cannot see it without talking about it afterward, hence this review. I have said much about the play, little about the performance; the stock superlatives are meaningless when acting is at once as brilliant and as beautifully subordinated to its end as that of Mr. Carnovsky and his colleagues. This is no scene-stealing, audience-inveigling bag of tricks, no matter of a star and a smoothly tailored vehicle, but a serious presentment of human life. Kulkov of the Red Army, at one point, has a long monologue during which he argues with himself, trying to keep awake. There may be other actors who could deliver such a monologue effectively, besides Morris Carnovsky; but there is perhaps no other actor on our stage who could do it strictly without hokum, with such complete honesty and simplicity and understanding.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

N. Y.'s 2 BIG HITS

"Best American play of the war"—NEW MASSES

THE PLAYWRIGHTS COMPANY and ROWLAND STEBBINS present

THE PATRIOTS

By SIDNEY KINGSLEY

NATIONAL, W. 41 St. PE. 6-8220. Evgs. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

★ ★ ★ ★

"The foremost play of season" —ATKINSON, Times

The Playwrights' Company presents

THE EVE OF ST. MARK

A New Play by MAXWELL ANDERSON

CORT W. 48 St. BR. 9-0046. Evgs. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

ANGEL STREET

with

JOHN EMERY JUDITH EVELYN LEO G. CARROLL

Staged by Shepard Traube

GOLDEN THEATRE, 45 St. W. of B'way Evenings incl. Sunday at 8:40

Matinees Saturday and Sunday—2:40

Epic of the 1917 Revolution

"END OF ST. PETERSBURG"

and Victor Hugo's Masterly

"HUNCHBACK OF NOTRE DAME"

Continuous from 10:30 A.M. till midnight

20c to 2 P.M. weekdays

IRVING PLACE IRVING PLACE at 14th St.

Benefit Block Tickets at Reduced Prices—GR. 5-9879

Continues by Popular Demand

MARGARET WEBSTER'S Production of

Counterattack

A New Soviet Play

By JANET and PHILIP STEVENSON

based on the Russian Play

by ILYA VERSHININ and MIKHAIL RUDERMAN

Morris CARNOVSKY • Barbara O'NEIL • Martin WOLFSON

WINDSOR, 48 St. E. of Broadway. PE. 6-4891

Evenings, including Sun. 8:40. Mats. Sat. & Sun.

Birthday Reception

Honoring

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Beloved American Working Class Leader

Chairman, Communist Party, U.S.A.

BANQUET LUNCHEON - REFRESHMENTS

PROMINENT TRADE UNION LEADERS

B'WAY AND HOLLYWOOD MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT

HOTEL DIPLOMAT

43rd Street at Sixth Avenue

SUNDAY, MAR. 14 • 2 P.M.

One Dollar PER PERSON

TICKETS at Furriers Joint Board 245 Seventh Avenue and 4th Floor 276 West 43rd St.

SCHOOL FOR DEMOCRACY

REGISTRATION OPENS

MARCH 29

$8 per course.

Spring Term – 1943

Begins April 12

Courses in:

History, Economics, Economic Geography, Social Work, Current Events, Philosophy, Science, Russian, Spanish, English, Literature, Music, Art, Theatre, Writing, Trade Unionism, The Colonial Worlds, etc.

Write or phone *now* for catalog

School for Democracy

13 Astor Place, New York GR. 7-4086

In a Forthcoming Issue

CORLISS LAMONT

One of America's Foremost Authorities on the Soviet Union—writes on

RUSSIA'S WAR AIMS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THAT DAY when you fell into the hands of the enemy, a curtain dropped, shutting out the world you had known and loved.

You crossed off the days one by one. Time blurred into a gray and miserable monotony.

You wondered dismally whether you had been forgotten—whether you would ever again see familiar faces, hear voices you had once loved.

...forgotten?

Then one day, the curtain lifted, for a thrilling moment, when a parcel from home with the Red Cross on it was placed in your hands.

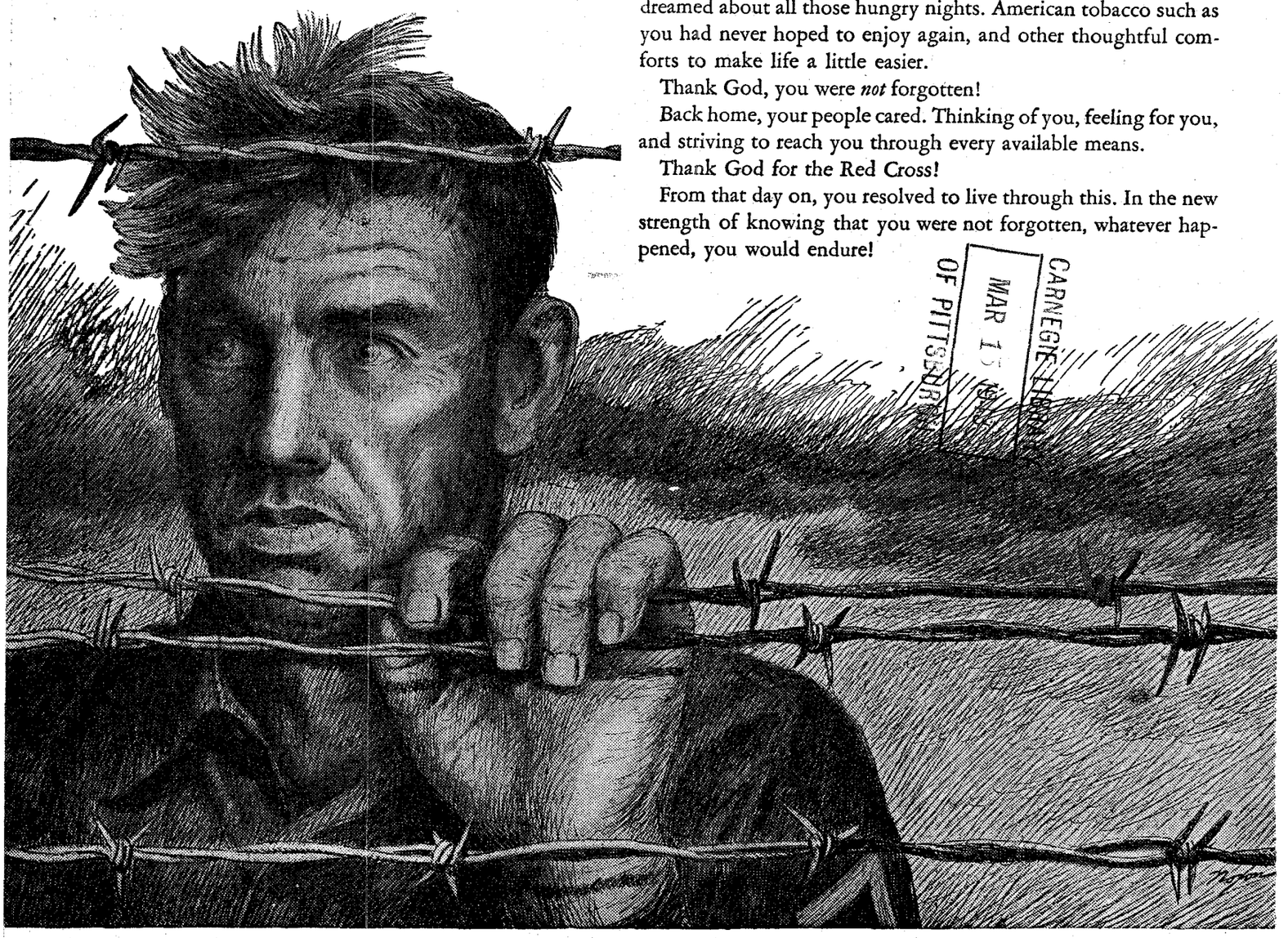
You opened it with trembling fingers. Out poured things you had not seen or tasted for months. American foods you had dreamed about all those hungry nights. American tobacco such as you had never hoped to enjoy again, and other thoughtful comforts to make life a little easier.

Thank God, you were *not* forgotten!

Back home, your people cared. Thinking of you, feeling for you, and striving to reach you through every available means.

Thank God for the Red Cross!

From that day on, you resolved to live through this. In the new strength of knowing that you were not forgotten, whatever happened, you would endure!



Helping our War Prisoners is one of the most precious privileges of those who support the Red Cross

Not only to our prisoners but to war's victims wherever they can be reached, the Red Cross is carrying food, clothing, medicines. The Second War Fund is greater than the First, but no greater than the increased needs. Give more this year—give double if you can.

Your Dollars help make possible the

AMERICAN RED CROSS

SPACE FOR THIS ADVERTISEMENT DONATED BY THE PUBLISHERS OF THE NEW MASSES

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED